# PUDOVKIN AND PAVLOV'S DOG

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I hereby declare that the following thesis is based entirely on my own research; the views represented here are my own and not those of the university.

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Abstract

'Pudovkin and Pavlov's Dog' is concerned with a group of films which are well known but comparatively little discussed. It analyses Pudovkin's major silent films (Mother, The End of St.Petersburg, Storm over Asia and Mechanics of the Brain) and his writing on film in the 1920's, attempting to investigate how one area of work might illuminate the other and how this places Pudovkin amongst his contemporaries, notably Kuleshov and Eisenstein.

The influence of Pavlov in Soviet art practice and theory is similarly frequently cited but rarely examined. This thesis attempts to answer some basic questions as to why his research should have been appropriated when and how it was. Crucial to this project is the examination of Mechanics of the Brain, showing how Pavlov was popularly (rather than academically) understood. It also tries to establish what means Pudovkin employed to assemble an adequate filmic exposition of Pavlov's scientific proof, as an opening to his notion of logical construction in general: Pudovkin repudiates Vertov's theoretical principle that the camera can simply seize material unawares from life.

Pavlov was rooted in and contributed to the same intellectual tradition in which Marxism was founded, but the Soviets looked to Pavlov for scientific (that is to say, objective) corroboration of their undertakings. The thesis is organised around a number of debates in which this paradox is seen to operate, each accompanied by analysis of a particular Pudovkin film.

## Transliteration

The absence of the definite and indefinite article in Russian presents the translator with a choice of options. I have elected to be wantonly inconsistent, translating film titles according to how they seem to scan best in a sentence: thus I refer to Mother and Storm over Asia but to The End of St.Petersburg.

I have followed the Library of Congress recommendations on transliteration, with the occasional exception of a few words in common usage in another form: for instance, 'Soviet' and 'Eisenstein'.

## Style

The M.L.A. guidelines have been followed for presentation, noting and bibliographic references. Admittedly, this has sometimes had a somewhat stultifying effect in the rendition of the original typography.

## Abbreviations

The following abbreviations have been used in the notes in the interests of compactness:

| | |
|---|---|
| IM/BFI/SM | Ivor Montagu Collection, British Film Institute, Special Materials. |
| FT and FA | V.I.Pudovkin, Film Technique and Film Acting, trans. Montagu, New York: Lear, 1949. |
| FF | Ian Christie and Richard Taylor eds., The Film Factory, London: Routledge, 1988. |
| IFF | Ian Christie and Richard Taylor eds., Inside the Film Factory, London: Routledge, 1991. |
| SME | Richard Taylor ed., S.M.Eisenstein: Selected Works, London: B.F.I. I 1988; II 1991; III 1996; IV 1995. |

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## Introduction

Vsevolod Illarionovich Pudovkin has fared comparatively and curiously badly in the annals of Soviet film history, in spite of the fame and reputation enjoyed by his major works of the 1920's and early 1930's, at home and abroad.

In spite of his artistic status but also, paradoxically, as a consequence of this popular success: as early as 1928 the avant-garde in Russia was accusing Pudovkin of betraying the principles which it had entrusted to him and of descending to outright commercialism; in the West, the indictment that Pudovkin had disappointed the hopes previously invested in him came later, with Suvorov (1940), Nakhimov (1946) and so forth. Indeed, Pudovkin was judged and found wanting not only in these particular films but also by the supposedly retrogressive trend which they announced to critics attached to a notion of a Soviet state productive of work that could be readily identified as revolutionary both in form and content. Winifred Ellerman (writing in the 1920's in Britain), Léon Moussinac (in France) and Vlada Petrić (reporting American opinion of a similar date), recount that what was most valued artistically in Soviet film screened abroad was its divergence from the home-grown product, even to the extent that silent and black and white films from Russia were preferred by art-house audiences well into the 1930's.[1] At one stage Pudovkin's work appeared to embrace a new and promising trend, distinct from the mainstream Hollywood product; later it failed to satisfy the expectation that it would continue to change and failed to mark progress by differentiating itself clearly from precedent or in relation to whatever was happening elsewhere. Pudovkin's pract-

ice and especially his writing became increasingly conservative.

Pudovkin's oeuvre has similarly proved unwieldy and unrewarding to film historians determined to map consistent traces of current work and thinking in past practice and theory. This arguably modernist position tends also to estimate the available evidence in so far as it can be deemed to match, herald or approach current modes. Strangely, as the supposed Russian Griffith (an appellation suggested already by Eisenstein and a comparison made by Piotrovski) Pudovkin has also been placed by his theoretical technique alongside the dominant Hollywood tradition, and then has equally been found not to sit comfortably in the place allotted to him. Certainly, much of Pudovkin's writing in the 1920's invites such a classification and Noël Burch has astutely observed a number of points at which this is contradicted in Pudovkin's concurrent film practice. Raymond Williams and Michael Orrom hint at a favourable and fruitful way of regarding this divergence, I think, when they conclude that inconsistencies in the editing pattern "did not appear to concern him."[2] Rather, it is the deliberateness with which such patterns are interrupted, the licence that Pudovkin allows himself and the particular choices that he makes in each individual case which continue to warrant his being considered experimental. Fundamentally, it seems to me, he is searching in each film to achieve a particular effect, to which end he may attempt something new or may resort to the tried and trusted (as codified in 1926 in Kino-stsenarii and Kino-rezhisser i Kino-material); at best, Pudovkin's means are economical and expedient.

Pudovkin himself has proved equally exasperating. Georges Sadoul's accusation of naïveté, made at a safe distance in time and space from Stalin's dictatorship, is presumably prompted not only by his low opinion of Pudovkin's collaboration with the régime, in his producing compliant films in which Sadoul found little artistic merit. Pudovkin also acted as something of an ambassador for his country; the artistic esteem in which the classic work of the 1920's stood later was opportunistically recognised by the Soviet authorities as endorsing Pudovkin's respectability and stature as their spokesman abroad, and he duly participated in peace congresses and cultural missions on their behalf. The British scientist Waddington met Pudovkin in 1951 and was amazed at his spirited defence of the biologist Lysenko, who was by then regarded in the West as thoroughly disreputable and a charlatan.[3] Ironically, although Pudovkin throughout the years voiced publicly his belief in artistic freedom, he was also quick to recognise and to establish himself in a politically expedient position. Certainly, Pudovkin was prepared to repudiate his previous preoccupations, formed in response to a discarded agenda, to denounce himself and the work of erstwhile colleagues. Pudovkin was consistently politically compliant, but the politics of the Soviet Union shifted such that communist and socialist correspondents in the West (such as Sadoul) found that their sympathies lay increasingly with those dissidents whose voices were silenced rather than with those who continued to work for the Soviet state.

The lack of ease with which Pudovkin can be accommodated may account for the partiality of treatment that his

work has received: any sustained investigation on either front can but acknowledge the theoretically dissatisfying vicissitudes of the writing and the qualitative unevenness of the films. Monographs by Barthélémy Amengual, Stefano Masi and Guido Aristarco devote themselves to the exemplary major works of Pudovkin's heroic period (Mother, The End of St.Petersburg and Storm over Asia) as do Karaganov and Glagoleva.[4] Iezuitov's biography of 1937 provides a good discussion of the work thus far and is the basis for Mariamov's 1951 publication, the prevailing tone of which is amply given by the 1954 German translation Pudowkin: Kampf und Vollendung.[5] Peter Dart (Pudovkin's films and film theory, 1974) acknowledges Pudovkin's earlier apprenticeship with Vladimir Gardin but says nothing of the work itself, appends a translation from the later writings but gives little space to the later films. There are occasional references to both periods in the reminiscences collected together by Jean and Luda Schnitzer (Poudovkine, 1968) and by Tatiana Zapasnik and Adi Petrovich (O sebe i svoikh fil'makh, 1975 and 1989) and by Glagoleva (Slovo o Pudovkine, 1968).[6]

The thesis has been based on these secondary materials in addition to Pudovkin's own writings in books and journals and the records of lectures delivered (the journals I consulted in the library of the Muzei Kino and the Lenin Library, Moscow). These journals actively endeavoured to construct debates around particular themes: discussion of Mechanics of the Brain, in Sovetskoe Kino 1, is accompanied by items concerning similar scientific subjects; Sovetskoe Kino 7 collects together reviews of Barnet's Moscow in October, Shub's Ten Years, Eisenstein's October and Pudovkin's

The End of St.Petersburg.[7] But, in contrast with Eisenstein, Pudovkin was increasingly unwilling to commit himself to a distinct theoretical position. In addition, I have consulted various memoirs and articles written by his colleagues (Baranovskaia, Inkizhinov, Zarkhi and especially Golovnia) and Eisenstein's account of their differences of opinion. Much of this material is available only in Russian, some in French or Italian. Much of Pudovkin's writing is theoretically not well considered. Pudovkin, unlike Eisenstein, seemingly was not a good apologist for his own work, nor is he comfortable with theoretical writing for its own sake. Pudovkin participates in current debates but rarely, unlike Eisenstein, initiates them himself. Pudovkin's contribution resides more in his films than in the commentary offered alongside them or in any theoretical explanation or interpretation volunteered. Regarding Pudovkin's writing as a whole it does not command the overall cohesion or articulation or intellectual scope of that of Eisenstein and has failed to attract similar extensive and rigorously probing subsequent engagement. Furthermore, Eisenstein can more readily be seen to adhere to avant-garde principles, consistently re-formulating a theory of montage (that which 1920's theory had estimated as the quintessence of film art). In contrast, Pudovkin becomes increasingly concerned with the art of acting, that which 1920's theory firmly consigned to the theatrical film-making of the past. However, it is my belief that his apparent renunciation, in theory, of avant-garde tenets was already presaged in his working practice: whereas Pudovkin was always concerned to work with actors, says Inkizhinov, Eisenstein worked formulaically and calculated the actor's work in advance.[8] For Pud-

ovkin theory and theorising occupied a much less significant place in his practice and procedure than they did for Eisenstein; Pudovkin was more inclined to be pragmatic and utilitarian, Eisenstein (even while denouncing it as an idle indulgence in others) was given to idealistic speculation .

It seems best to embark upon an appraisal of Pudovkin's work with those films which are best known together with his basic core texts. For the time being I am setting aside (as Pudovkin himself does) the apprenticeship with Gardin, and the sound films, although Hammer and Sickle (seen at Pordenone in 1996) will be mentioned in passing as will Deserter and A Simple Case, where they are seen to extend to sound an argument previously posited in the context of silent recording. I have viewed archive copies (sometimes in several versions) of the films discussed, principally those held by Gosfilmofond, Moscow, the Cinémathèque Royale, Brussels and the N.F.T.V.A., London. Although Mechanics of the Brain has been shown at festivals, I suspect that the absence of translated intertitles goes some way to explaining the paucity of critical appraisal. For this reason also I am choosing to refer to the most commonly available translations of Pudovkin's writings rather than to the Russian originals (held at R.G.A.L.I.) or to the collected published transcripts.

I am making a deliberate and pointed distinction here between Pudovkin's 'writings' and what may purport to be his 'theory' at any given time. One of the purposes of the following project is to investigate whether the writing does indeed ever constitute theory and, more generally, in the pur-

suit of this project, to question what criteria are thereby applied. To some extent, I shall appropriate from a contiguous field of experimentation and theory-making, and volunteer this as an analogy rather than a paradigm. Pavlov is frequently invoked in discussions of Soviet film, sometimes with due historical and theoretical validity. The procedure adopted here is to find various points of contact between Pudovkin and Pavlov, organised around the current debates to which they both contribute. Firstly, I am concerned broadly with the place of Soviet cinema (Soviet and cinema) in a particular intellectual tradition and secondly with Pudovkin's immediate context, as both film-maker and commentator. The third chapter discusses Mechanics of the Brain and Pavlov's status in Soviet science. 'Types, Typage and Typologies' marks the extension to film of themes inherited from a scientistic philosophy and deals with Storm over Asia (The Descendant of Genghis Khan) and 'Between Stanislavski and the Model' attempts to locate Pudovkin, historically and theoretically, in the contentious field of the actor versus the non-actor. Similarly, discussion of 'Dynamism and Plasticity' (argued with reference to The End of St.Petersburg) and of what renders to film its specificity as a work of art for both maker and audience (argued with reference to Mother) are frequently pursued by Pudovkin and his contemporaries. 'The Poetics of Cinema' views Pudovkin in the context of contemporaneous formalist theorising and in the light of a succeeding generation of realist film-making, acknowledging his films as an aesthetic model; poetry, hitherto regarded as beyond the limits of scientific explanation, was by the formalists subjected to rigorous and comprehensive scrutiny. The final chapter endeavours to summ-

arise the bases of the supposed controversy between Eisenstein and Pudovkin, setting this in a climate of heated polemicising and questioning their respective use of scientific exemplars.

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The thesis is dedicated to Postrel, Milord, Zolotisti, Golovan, Atlas, Boy, Jamaica, Clubs, Buyan, Guyan, the monkeys Raphael and Rose...and all the dogs there were that died.

1. see Winifred Ellerman (Bryher), Film Problems of Soviet Russia,(Territet: 1928); Léon Moussinac, Le Cinéma Soviétique, (Paris: 1929); Vlada Petrić, 'Soviet Revolutionary Films in the U.S.A.', Ph.D., N.Y. U, 1973.

2. Raymond Williams and Michael Orrom, Preface to Film, (London: 1954) .

3. C.H.Waddington report, Sight and Sound 17.68 (1951) 159.

4. Barthélémy Amengual, V.I.Poudovkine (Lyon: 1968); Stefano Masi, V.I.Pudovkin (Florence: 1985); Guido Aristarco, 'Teoria di Pudovkin' Bianco e Nero 9.5 (1948); Glagoleva, Mat' (Moscow: 1975); Karaganov, Mat' (Moscow: 1975).

5. Iezuitov, Pudovkin (Moscow: 1937); A.Mariamov, Pudowkin: Kampf und Vollendung (Berlin: 1954).

6. Luda and Jean Schnitzer, Poudovkine (Paris: 1968); Tatiana Zapasnik and Adi Petrovich, Sebe i svoikh fil'makh (Moscow: 1975), Pudovkin v vospomunaniiakh sovremennikov (Moscow: 1989); Glagoleva, Slovo o Pudovkine (Moscow: 1968).

7. Sovetskoe Kino 7, 1927.

8. Valeri Inkizhinov, 'Les Souvenirs d'Inkijinoff' Cinéma 167 (1972) 116.

What, exactly, is the concept of a reflex? The theory of reflex activity is based on three fundamental principles of exact scientific investigation: 1) the principle of determinism i.e an impulse 2) the principle of analysis and synthesis i.e. the initial decomposition of the whole into its parts or units and subsequent gradual re-establishment of the whole from these parts or elements 3) the principle of structure i.e. the disposition of activity of force in space, the adjustment of dynamics to structure.

I.P.Pavlov, Selected Works (Moscow: n.d.) 426.

## 1. Soviet mechanism and the Western materialist tradition

"Early Soviet Marxism as a whole eagerly embraced Pavlov's reduction of all behaviour to material laws", says David Bordwell, and again, "The philosophical school of mechanistic materialism of the 1920's took Pavlov as its figurehead".[1] Indeed, the appropriation of Pavlov was keenly observed by Western commentators at the time. In 1927, René Fülöp-Miller remarked:

> The fact that Pavlov's "conditioned reflexes" seem to demonstrate the transition from purely physiological automatism to association of ideas and primitive forms of thought, was utilised by the Bolsheviks in the most grotesquely exaggerated way in order to represent that all spirituality whatever, even in its highest forms, art and science, is an expression of mere mechanism, as it were the output of a more or less complicated factory... Thus, if it is regarded as proved that every expression of human spirit, emotion or thought is in the last resort to be traced to purely material, physiological, mechanistic causes, it follows immediately that all apparently autonomous intellectual phenomena must be fundamentally of a material nature.[2]

The purpose of this project is to investigate this commonplace assumption. More especially, it will enquire into Pavlov's specific meaning for the theory and practice of film-making (that art which Lenin deemed "for us the most important") and into the making of Pudovkin's film about Pavlov, as a means of rendering supposed truths.[3] (see chapter three, below)

Occasionally there are precise points of contact: film schools in Moscow and Leningrad trained students in one to-one sports such as fencing and boxing, which not only enhanced performers' carriage and balance and tested their athletic skill and agility, but also served to sharpen reflexes; Eisenstein's curriculum at the Moscow Institute of

Cinematography included a course in Pavlovian reflexology;[4] Meierkhold, acknowledged as master by both Eisenstein and Pudovkin, keenly appreciated the relevance of Pavlov's research to his own exposition of Bio-mechanics. Dziga Vertov, who had himself briefly studied neurology, characteristically invokes Pavlov as the scientific paradigm for his celebration of Cinema Truth:

> Not "Pathé" nor "Gaumont"
> Not this, not about this
> The apple should be seen as Newton saw it.
> Open eyes to the Universe.
> So that the ordinary dog
> By Pavlov's eye can be seen.
> We go to the movies
> To blow up the movies
> In order to see the movies. [5]

Again, crucially pertinent to this project is Pudovkin's 1926 film about Pavlov, Mechanics of the Brain (the behaviour of animals and man).

Pavlov's work on conditioned reflexes and his experiments with extirpated dog brains began in 1906, but there is no recorded appreciation of the political potential of his findings before the October Revolution. Thereafter, Pavlov, in spite of himself, became edified into an ideological totem, seemingly authorising the new régime and its cultural products. What was the generally understood allotted place of science and scientific methodology (itself inconceivable outside of its relationship to other areas of enquiry) which allowed it to be pressed into service thus? To what extent was Pavlov's science called upon as an independent witness to validate objectively and oblige the acceptance of and complicity in a particular political system? In the event of science being perceived as a universal abstraction, to what extent was this embrace of science unique to the Soviet state.

unique to the 1920's, or to film? Given that Marxism was borne of a particular mid-nineteenth century world-view and that the experimental tasks set out before Pavlov were similarly the product of nineteenth-century science, was the nature of the imbrication anything other than a grand syllogism, effected through an easy equivalence of a shared scientistic vocabulary? Marx and Engels, it must be remembered, were adherents of Darwin and Marx requested permission from Darwin for the dedication of Das Kapital.* Does the chosen vocabulary, in part, account for the institution and even renewed systematic veneration of Pavlov long after the physical grounding of his work had been dismantled and superseded? Perhaps the assertion of identity through common naming in scientistic terminology indicates an attractive aspiration towards a meaningful endeavour, a means of placing a particular practice within a consolidating self-justifying whole, rather than providing a substantive truth.

Pavlov's fundamental theoretical conception was that the functional properties of the nervous system and the cerebral cortex were based on two equally important processes: excitation and inhibition, two sides of one and the same process always existing simultaneously but their proportion varying in each moment. This was not in itself new, as Hippocrates had distinguished between excitation and inhibition and had accounted for various classes of temperaments and traits in relation to environment, similarly a notion investigated by Pavlov.[6] (see chapter four, below)

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*Darwin declined the invitation, being unfamiliar with Marx's work and for fear of causing offence to some members of his family; see David Joravsky, Soviet Marxism and Natural Science (London: 1961) and Gillian Beer, Darwin's Plots (London: 1985)

According to Pavlov, the cerebral cortex is endowed with the properties of analysis and synthesis, essential for the establishment of a temporal and fine relationship of an animal organism with the outer world: "the nervous system possesses a definite analysing mechanism", writes Pavlov in 1927, "by means of which it selects out of the whole complexity of the environment those units which are of significance...and a synthesising mechanism by means of which the individual units can be integrated into an excitatory complex".[7] "For every event", says Pudovkin in Film Technique, "a process has to be carried out comparable to the process in mathematics termed 'differentiation' (analysis)- that is to say, dissection into parts or elements...proceeded by 'integration' (synthesis)".[8] "The splitting of a single whole and the cognition of its contradictory parts", says Lenin in On the Question of Dialectics

> ...is the essence...of dialectics...
> In mathematics: + and -, differential and integral.
> In mechanics: action and reaction.
> In physics: positive and negative electricity.
> In chemistry: the combination and dissociation of atoms.
> In social science: the class struggle. [9]

Finally, does the commonplace assumption,as voiced by Bordwell, represent Pavlov's work fairly (did Pavlov reduce all behaviour to material laws) or is this an opinion received from what early Soviet Marxism chose to make of it?

In the conduct of this project it is taken as axiomatic that the Great Break of 1928-1930 marks a significant rupture in all areas of Soviet culture, in science no less than in art. More especially it presages the imposition of a monolithic state orthodoxy and gross state intervention

everywhere: the open diversity and heated polemicising of the 1920's was tamed into adherence to (or at least conspicuous deference to) dictated norms, extending from the correctness of Socialist Realist portraiture and the cult of Lenin to the correct interpretation of a Marxist anti-bourgeois physiology and psychology.* The first All Union Party Conference on Cinema in 1928 found against formalist (bourgeois) experimentation: "the main criterion for evaluating formal and artistic qualities of films is the requirement that cinema furnish a 'form that is intelligible to the millions'", and it is against such strictures that Deserter and Pudovkin's films thereafter should be viewed.[10] In 1930, all matters concerning production, rental and exhibition were gathered under the control of the Supreme Soviet Council of National Economy. "Changes in the governmental administrative structure aimed primarily at the further centralisation of economic planning and authority", observe Babitsky and Rimberg. "Once a large scale administrative apparatus for planning and operation had been developed, subsequent reorganisations stressed highly centralised ideological regulation".[11] Before 1930, Pavlov had stayed away from the Congress of Physiologists and other Soviet conventions in order to demonstrate his disapproval of the régime. Previous congresses had elected him honorary chairman in absentia but the congress of 1930 passed him by

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*when I visited Moscow in 1995 the Oriental Museum on Nikitskii Bulvar was showing an excellent selection of approved portraits woven into carpets (including that of Maiakovskii) from the Central Asian Republics, together with the usual paintings of Soviet dignitaries; in 1996 the Lenin museum in Tampere was showing a selection of marquetry portraits, some approved, some not; for the extent to which irony could escape scrutiny and remain within the bounds of convention see David Elliott.

and elected to its 'honorary presidium' the entire Political Bureau of the Communist Party.[12]

The project is concerned both with Soviet film practice and with film theory in the 1920's, writing which was as much concerned with issues of cinema (relating the film industry to its audience) and with the utility of cinema to the state as it was with the specific formal and aesthetic properties of the filmic object. Moreover, the project is concerned with the perception of writing about film (theoretical, critical and amateur) as a required adjunct to practical participation, more especially the assertion of its usefulness for practice and its suitability to declared political purposes. In all these areas, the impulse towards scientism is evinced. Sometimes there is a method in the writing which equates it with the means of arriving at warranted conclusions employed in physics, chemistry and biology, sometimes a broader and looser conception of science (in which Marx and Engels can be situated) which refers to systematic scholarship offering a coherent interpretation of a set of phenomena. Tom Sorrell characterises such a distinction procedurally: "We may say that the difference between method and the manner of practical reason is that the steps one follows are unified by feeling in the latter case and by reason in the former".[13] However, as the exaggerations of Bolshevism demonstrate, this difference may often prove more academic than real, one form of enquiry prompting further efforts in another. Although the conditioned reflex served as something of a mathematically abstract quantity in Pavlov's experiments on alimentary secretions (the

reflex, he declared triumphantly in 1909, "is strikingly specific"), warranting the claim to a strictly objective method, the notion of mind as a reflex of the brain had existed in a metaphorical sense long before it became susceptible to experimental investigation.[14] Pavlov's functional analogy with clockwork is as much matched by the modern image popularised by Colin Blakemore, John Searle and others of mind (function) as what the brain (matter) does as much as by antecedent images of the brain as dynamo (presented by the Marxist Lafargue in 1906) and as harpsichord (presented, at the outset of scientific psychology, by Descartes).[15] In an address to the Petrograd Philosophical Society in 1916, Pavlov described the psyche as a function of a mechanical system, as timekeeping is of a watch; elsewhere he was wont to picture the brain as a telephone exchange.[16]

The manner in which distinct functions have been accounted for in the matter and topology of the brain and the nervous system has changed with the means available to introspective and objective investigation. Long before Pavlov's experiments with corterised dogs, examples of brain damage resulting from disease or accidents have been reported demonstrating the extent to which an individual could perform particular physical and mental activities, in spite of obliterating (albeit localised) material destruction. Especially notorious, in the nineteenth century, was the case of Phineas Gage: an iron bar was driven through his skull and although Gage survived remarkably well, the personality traits of "Benevolence" and "Veneration", faculties allocated to the particular regions damaged, were found to

be impaired.[17] In Moscow in the 1920's, Luria encountered similar phenomena in casualties of accidents.[18] Phrenology had speculated that particular states and functions could be assigned to particular regions; modern techniques of mapping and imaging (Heat Sensing and Magnetic Resonance Technique) show that a basic function may require a broader spread of neural activity than hitherto envisaged. Antonio Domasio and Daniel Goleman argue that the capacity for chemical suppression of certain emotional states disposes these also within the suzerainty of the material brain, and that emotion is equally an adaptive trait for survival.[19] Such distinctions are no longer of merely academic concern: Wilkie Collins used the nullification of consciousness by a drug-induced stupor as an effective plot device; Oliver Sacks has successfully popularised his work (somewhat in the wake of Luria) and Oliver Stone has warned of the dangers of Prozac; Tilman Spengler has extrapolated a fictional century of materialist psychology from the curious fact of the preservation of a sliver of Lenin's brain in 1924.[20] Society is not only fascinated by but implicated in the ethical and ideological ramifications of shifting diagnostic and therapeutic categories and different definitions of norms.

The extent to which mind can be accounted for by physiology (healthy or otherwise) is a subject of speculation in Western philosophy dating back to the Ancients. Hippocrates regarded temperament as the product of environment. Aristotle wondered in what way the mind was connected with the body and regarded the soul as the form in which the body was moulded. According to Aristotle, the seat of the mind was the heart and he regarded the brain as an organ for

tempering the fluids of the body. Descartes, while locating the self in cognition, inherited this dualistic notion of the soul as a distinct entity from its body, suggesting that harmony was pre-ordained between the movements of the body and the volitions of the soul, even while body and soul remained disconnected. Euler subsequently remarked that such a disconnection rendered one's own body as foreign to one-self as a rhino in the midst of Africa "which might just as well be in pre-established harmony with his soul as its own".[21] Pavlov's work in higher nervous activity can be placed in this contentious negotiation of competing claims, between soul and body, conscience and volition, psychology and physiology. Pavlov did not deny that there remained aspects of the psyche as yet unexplained by physiology alone, but refused contemporary psychology the scientific status which could alone supply objective and irrefutable proof:

> The pivotal point in the scientific investigation of the activity of the brain lies in the delimitation of paths along which the nerve process spreads and concentrates- a problem of space relations. This is the reason why, from a strictly scientific point of view, it seems that the position of psychology as the study of subjective states is completely hopeless. [22]
>
> In thirteen years I have not used psychological conceptions with any success. [23]

Freud, it may be noted, tried but abandoned the attempt to articulate a psychological enquiry derived from physiology. Amongst these competing claims there was no straightforward allegiance of materialism with anti-clericalism nor of idealism with mysticism- the English empiricists to whom Pavlov looked for immediate precedence (Spencer, Lewes, Sherrington, Engels' "shamefaced materialists") remained

bound to and by their faith.[24] Just as Darwin had been fully aware of the upset which was likely to ensue from the publication of The Descent of Man and The Origin of Species, Sherrington, as early as 1912, wrote to Pavlov advising him that conditioned reflexes were unlikely to be accepted in England as an explanation of behaviour.[25] Lenin, similarly, noted the boundaries observed by empiricism.[26] Pavlov would never commit himself to a thorough-going monism, would never claim that the notion of soul in an account of mental activity was entirely spent.

While the work of contemporaneous introspective psychology (including Freud) was known in Russia, long before the Revolution the study there of physiology and psychology was known for its materialism. Moreover, discussion of these disciplines extended beyond the academy into popular and political literature. At the opening of Anna Karenina, written in 1874, Tolstoi describes Count Oblonski:

> It had been with him as it is so often when people are unexpectedly caught out in something disgraceful. He had been unable to assume an expression suitable to the situation in which he was placed by his wife's knowledge of his guilt. Instead of taking offence or denying the whole thing, instead of justifying himself or begging forgiveness or even remaining indifferent- any of which would have been better than what he actually did- in spite of himself ('by a reflex action of the brain' now thought Oblonski, who had a leaning towards physiology), in spite of himself he suddenly smiled his habitual, kind and somewhat foolish smile. [27]

Politically, the physiological tendency was eagerly embraced by anti-clerical and anti-monarchist factions who found in it a ready explanation for phenomena hitherto bound to the soul and the ordinances of a Church-state.(see chapter three below) In its apparently fearless investigation of psychic

phenomena, physiology was cast as something intrinsically revolutionary and progressive, modernising and beneficial. Pavlov spoke heroically in 1909 of physiology's pioneering enterprise:

> One can truly say that the irresistible progress of natural science since the time of Galileo has made its first halt before the study of the higher parts of the brain, the organ of the most complicated relations of the animals to the external world. And it seems, and not without reason, that now is the really critical moment for natural science; for the brain, in its highest complexity- the human brain- which created and creates natural science, itself becomes the object of this science [28]

Foreign investigators elsewhere (notably William James), likewise intent upon an objectifying and rationalised psychology, were sometimes given to doubts as to the theoretical concepts in which their work was enmeshed:

> When...we talk of psychology as a natural science we must not assume that this means a sort of psychology that stands at last on solid ground... it means a psychology particularly fragile into which the waters of metaphysical criticism leak at every joint all of whose elemental assumptions and data must be reconsidered in their wider connections and translated into other terms...This is no science, it is only the hope of a science...at present psychology is in the condition of physics before Galileo...and of chemistry before Lavoisier. [29]

Pavlov's confidence in the progress of his discipline towards a Utopian future seemed to heed no constraint. The zeal and dedication of this exemplary man of science carried him forever onwards and upwards:

> Can we be satisfied with the results obtained? Without doubt we can, for our experiments afforded a starting point for the further successful investigation of the subject. [30]

Such unalloyed enthusiasm for the potential and capacity of progress afforded by science was, in itself, useful to Bolshevik ambitions.

The Cartesian tradition had accepted as unassailable the axiom that humankind had been differentiated once and for all from the rest of animal life, human life was alone distinguished in its possession of soul. In natural science and in social science Darwin's theory of evolution proved cataclysmic."Darwin must be counted as the founder and instigator of the contemporary comparative study of higher vital phenomena of animals", says Pavlov, in 1913, "the hypothesis of the origin of man from animals gave great impetus to the study of the higher phenomena of animal life".[31] J.B.S.Haldane cast Darwin as one of the "wreckers of outworn empires and civilisations", along with Voltaire, Bentham and Marx, furnishing an example of the "relentlessness of reason in the field of science...Such men are interested primarily in truth as such, but can hardly be quite uninterested in what will happen when they throw down their dragon's teeth into the world".[32] In suggesting that the nervous activity of the brain in higher mammals was a worthwhile experimental subject, yielding knowledge of the similar workings of the human brain in general, the individual brain and thereby the psyche were drawn from the preserve of speculative psychology into the sphere of biology; furthermore, Darwin extended Spencer's work on innate and acquired reactions, thereby contributing anew to a perennial debate over the accountability of nature and nurture in individual behaviour. Here again, this debate in Russia long predates the Revolution. In Pavlov's formulation, unconditioned reflexes are deemed to be inborn forms of nervous activity and are transmitted by inheritance; conditioned reflexes are not normally inherited although he believed that in some instances they could be. The dog's usefulness as an experimental subject

is further enhanced, it is suggested, by the acquisition of its behaviour, in some measure, from its close historical and social association with humankind. In terms of developmental psychology (as practised by Luria's teacher, Vygotski in Russia and Piaget in Switzerland), the debate in Western Philosophy is at least as old as the 'tabula rasa' image of the child's brain posited by Locke.

The distinction of a Russian tradition in physiology and psychology apart from the rest of Western philosophy seems sometimes artificial and largely retrospective: certainly the influence of Darwin was felt everywhere. Sechenov, 'the father of Russian physiology', trained with Bernard in France and Helmholtz ("the genius Helmholtz", says Pavlov) in Germany. Pavlov himself was well-read within his discipline and thoroughly informed of research outside of Russia. Nor was Pavlov alone in his attempts to subject the activity of the brain to scientific investigation- Bekhterev in Russia, Thorndike in America and Wundt in Germany were proceeding with a similar sense of purpose. However, Pavlov proved peculiarly expedient. Although he occasionally descended to vicious swipes against Bekhterev (who duly retaliated in kind), in effect he was in a circumstantially favoured position.[33] Unlike Bekhterev, prone to quotation from authorities outside of his field and to equivocation and more frank speculation, Pavlov was known to pay little notice to newspapers or journals not immediately germane. Pavlov's total disinterest in matters popular or current supremely qualified his work as unwitting benediction upon Bolshevik political conduct.(see chapter three, below)

The appropriation of science generally and physiology in particular by other areas of cultural and ideological production was and is not unique to Russia nor to Bolshevism. Throughout modern Europe and America in the 1920's, the capacity of science was celebrated. Supposedly 'scientific' explanations were extrapolated from laboratory research to account for phenomena hitherto the topic of speculation alone. This included attempts to contrive in physiology the grounds for a supposedly universal aesthetic. In France, the self-proclaimed 'international' magazine Esprit Nouveau published articles comparing the proportions of the Golden Section with number series occurring in nature; Dr.Allendy strove to demonstrate that the pleasurable sensation of viewing an undulating landscape or curvaceous reclining Venus was due to the soothing effect on the muscle as the eye traced its outlines.[34] There was renewed interest, across Europe and America, in novelties which had previously fascinated the eighteenth century empiricists (Hume, Burke etc) and also Darwin; sounds heard by deaf children; the visual experiences of the erstwhile blind newly restored to sight; the introduction of language and manners to 'wild' children, or to such as Kasper Hauser- all these were seized upon as exemplary test cases. Bekhterev discusses the contemporary instance of Helen Keller, blind, deaf and dumb from infancy.[35] In aesthetics, the commingling of sensations had been the subject of speculation since Longinus and reached physiological investigation by way of Locke and Burke. Before the Revolution, Kandinski and Maeterlinck were drawn to the particular synaesthetic possibilities of the substitution and conjunction of sound with music. Their various experi-

ments suggested that sensory centres in the brain were not entirely separate and distinct. However, this could be regarded by the Soviet state as no more than fanciful dilettantism. The ideological and political impetus and urgency of Bolshevik claims required a more solid and supposedly universal grounding in neural physiology. Certainly, filmmakers working in silent cinema were concerned to establish effective associative images by which to convey and substitute for aural information and non-visual sensations.

Such a mutual imbrication of science with ideology, ideology with science was not new nor unique- Ernst Mach observed "the theologising bent" of Newtonian physics and Darwin was impressed by the suffusion of natural history by the language of the Church;[36] Bekhterev complained that Bergson and James employed terms ascribing agency and volition to inorganic matter (see chapter six, below). Conversely modern literary criticism often resorts to glib reformations of chaos theory and, in 1927, J.B.S.Haldane noted the embeddedness of quaint scientific misapprehensions:

> The old religions are full of outworn science, including the astronomical theory of a solid heaven, the chemical theory that water, bread, books and other objects can be rendered holy ...and the physiological theory that a substance called soul leaves the body at the moment of death...the materialist view of the nature of soul is quite prevalent in Christian circles... [37]

But in his endeavours to purge current thought of such notions, Haldane is more circumspect than Pavlov:

> Personally I regard all attempts to describe the relation of mind to matter as rather clumsy metaphors- the biochemist knows no more, no less about the question than anyone else...ignorance disqualifies him no more than the historian or geologist from attempting to solve an historical problem. [38]

Pavlov's science was proclaimed by Bolshevism to supersede such partisan restrictions; in the objectivity and universality of abstraction, the brain was no longer deemed simply to mediate between the individual and the external social and natural world but to correspond in its material articulation with the mechanisms of that world. Nothing of the natural world lay beyond the cognitive capacity of the brain and the interpretation of neuro-science; neuro-science discovered in the brain a real metaphor for the order of that world. Paradoxically, Bolshevism in the 1920's sought in Pavlov's science independent impartial validation for its ideological tenets- but it was equally a particular modernist scientism which placed faith in science as supremely authoritative.

There is a photo-montage portrait of Maiakovskii by Rodchenko, produced in 1926 as the back cover of A Conversation with a Tax Inspector, which shows a globe superimposed upon his brow (ill.1.i)[39] The globe serves as a metaphor for the brain, the brain for the material world contained in space and time. Maiakovskii's head, full face, stares intently forward out of the page. Aeroplanes circle the globe. Maiakovskii is a modern genius, a modern divine whose mind "bestrides the world, like a colossus". It seems to me particularly revealing that such an image should illustrate a discussion about poetry. For the nineteenth century, poetry was taken to designate areas of human culture and understanding which lay beyond the reaches of scientific accountability. For the new Soviet artist, poetry is a practical skill, the poet adept in fabrication rather than divination. (see chapter eight, below) Nor is it accidental that Maiak-

ovskii stares so intently: as Vertov's ode ("Open eyes to the Universe") suggests, it is vision which is construed by the new Soviets to be the least fallible of the senses, the most transparently mediating between the external world and cognisance of its truth, the most prized for its scientific objectivity.

Once again, the Soviet position can be placed in a philosophical context dating from Antiquity, in which the relative authoritative merits of the senses have been variously discussed. In the de Anima, Aristotle argues that the senses are the source of the ideas which adapt the organism to its external environment and that touch, which gives us our most unmediated sensation of the external environment and without which no other sense can exist, was thereby paramount:

> Even the other sense organs perceive by touch, but through something else; touch alone seems to perceive through itself...without touch the body cannot have any other sense perception. 40

The primacy accorded by the Soviets to vision and the rendering of phenomena sensible by visual means is highly reminiscent of the Enlightenment image of truth as an eye emanating rays of light. Indeed, 'enlightenment' serves conversely as a metaphor for the perception it intends to convey. Vertov's paean unites an elevated regard for the camera as a quasi scientific recording instrument with a respect for the supremacy of vision. The camera is held in particular esteem in that it enables the capturing of phenomena which have hitherto escaped the naked eye: following the example of Muybridge and Marey, Gastev's Moscow Institute used chrono-cyclographic photographs to make records of efficient

movement in manual labour (see chapter two, below); Laszlo Moholy-Nagy at the Bauhaus meanwhile and Rodchenko in Russia, extolled the value of the camera as a means of exceeding the limitations of the eye, as a means of rendering "a new objectivity", "emancipated", says Vertov, "from human immobility"(see chapters two and six, below):

> The modern lens is no longer tied to the narrow limits of our eyes...it is impossible for manual means of creation to fix the quintessence of a movement; nor should we regard the ability of the lens to distort- the view from below, from above, the oblique view- as in any sense merely negative, for it provides an impartial approach, such as our eyes, tied as they are to the laws of association, do not give. 41

Since Fox-Talbot made his first photograms of leaves, nineteenth century science recognised the medium of photography as an instrument especially suited to the study of anatomy and morphology. In The Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals (1872), Darwin often refers to photographs and reproduces photographs previously taken by Duchenne for similar research purposes. "Likewise", notes Lisa Cartwright, "the motion picture was regarded as an apparatus uniquely suited to the study of physiology", citing particularly Lumière's commitment to medical biology, pharmacology and experimental physiology.[42] The significance of such technologies to this current project resides not only in their status as a means of record; the camera exists for Soviet practitioners as a trope combining notions of mediation in the visible external world, combining notions of presentation and representation. Film is regarded as a means of visibly exposing supposed truths hitherto hidden from view.

Pavlov's image of the brain as a mosaic or telephone exchange is seemingly corroborated by modern imaging tech-

niques, although the image now finds itself popularly and commonly superseded by that of the computer. Such verbal metaphors attach the phenomena shaped and represented thereby to the current available technology. Similarly, Bekhterev and Wundt find themselves rejecting an image of neural processes which is described in terms of the photo-plate;[43] Poincaré advances and Bergson and James reject an image of these processes as a series of cinematic 'clicks'.[44] (see chapter six, below) The selection of phenomena explored by science are as much shaped by as afforded by the technology available. Pavlov construed the nerve path as a chain of links: analyser; connection; effector. It seems to me that the equivalence of such a mapping of neural activity, as a phenomenon, with the production and experience of film, as a phenomenon, is that which rendered it of interest to various emergent schools of psychology in the 1920's, in Russia and elsewhere.

1. David Bordwell, 'Eisenstein's Epistemological Shift' Screen (Winter 1974-75) 15.4, 33 & 45; see also David Bordwell, The Cinema of Eisenstein (London: 1993) 116-119.

2. Rene Fülöp-Miller, The Mind and Face of Bolshevism (London: 1927) 58.

3. G.M.Boltyanskii, ed.Lenin i Kino (Moscow: 1925) qu. FF 57; also frequently repeated in the journals (see, for instance, the front cover of ARK zhurnal 1)

4. for Trauberg's curriculum see Léon Moussinac, Le Cinéma Soviétique (Paris: 1928) 127; for Eisenstein see Vladimir Nizhny, Lessons with Eisenstein (London:1962) and Marie Seton, S.M.Eisenstein (London: 1952); see also René Marchand and Pierre Weinstein, Le Cinéma (Paris: 1927) 159.

5. qu.Vladimir Petric, Constructivism in Film (Cambridge: 1987) 30.

6. Boris Babkin, Pavlov: A Biography (London:1951) 313.

7. ibid. 311.

8. FT 66.

9. V.I.Lenin, On the Question of Dialectics 1915, (Moscow 1980) 10; Fülöp-Miller, op.cit., says that this formula was found in notebooks after Lenin's death and published posthumously.

10. Richard Taylor in IFF 196.

11. Paul Babitsky & John Rimberg, The Soviet Film Industry (New York: 1955) 1.

12. Joravsky (1961) 241.

13. Tom Sorrell, Scientism (London:1994) 66.

14. I.P.Pavlov, Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes, trans. W.Horsley-Gantt (London: 1928) 121; David Joravsky, Russian Psychology: A Critical History (Oxford: 1989) 8.

15. see Colin Blakemore, The Mind Machine (London: 1989) and John Searle, Minds, Brains and Science (Harmondsworth: 1989); also Joravsky, Soviet Marxism and Natural Science (London: 1961) 15.

16. Joravsky (1989) 158.

17. Antonio Domasio, Descartes' Error (London: 1994) 16.

18. Alexander Luria, The Mind of a Mnemonist (Harmondsworth: 1975) and The Man with a Shattered World (Harmondsworth: 1975)

19. Domasio, op.cit. and Daniel Goleman, Emotional Intelligence (London: 1996)

20. Oliver Sacks, The Man who mistook his Wife for a Hat (London: 1985); Tilman Spengler Lenin's Brain (Harmondsworth: 1993); the film Natural Born Killers widened the discussion of the suppressive effects of Prozac (see also Domasio op.cit.)

21. qu.Ernst Mach, The Science of Mechanics, trans.McCormack (London: 1919) 449; Euler adopts an orthodox opinion of Descartes; for a revisionist view see Baker and Morris, Descartes' Dualism (London: 1996)

22. Gantt, op.cit. 219.

23. ibid. 219.

24. Herbert Spencer, The Principles of Psychology (London: 1865); G.H.Lewes, Practical Physiology (London: 18 ); according to Babkin, Gantt, Anrep, Frolov et.al., Lewes was Pavlov's constant source of reference

25. Gantt, op.cit. x.

26. V.I.Lenin, Materialism and Empirio-Criticism 1908, (London: 1952) 60.

27. Leo Tolstoi, Anna Karenina, trans.Rosemary Edmonds (Harmondsworth: 1978) 14.

28. Gantt, op.cit. 120.

29. William James, Psychology (London: 1892) 467.

30. Gantt, op.cit. 203.

31. ibid. 213.

32. J.B.S.Haldane, Daedalus, or Science and the Future (London: 1924) 78.

33. Gantt, op.cit. 40: "Some years after we started, the problem was also taken up by Bekhterev here and by Kalischer in Germany: the claims of these as to any priority in such investigations are, of course, for anyone having even a slight knowledge of the subject, wholly ephemeral"; V.M.Bekhterev, General Principles of Human Reflexology, trans.Murphy (London: 1933) 196: "...the conditions of the salivary secretion reflex (Pavlov's Conditioned Reflex)... were already known at the end of the eighteenth century".

34. Esprit Nouveau (Paris: 1921)

35. Bekhterev, op.cit. 352.

36. Mach, op.cit. 446 & 455.

37. J.B.S.Haldane,'Science and Theology as Art Forms', On Being the Right Size (Oxford: 1985)

38. ibid. 111, 'The Origin of Life' (1932)

39. see David Elliott, ed.Alexander Rodchenko (Oxford: 1979) also Susan Compton, Russian Avant-Garde Books (London: 1992) 81 & 90; it is also to be found in Selim O.Khan-Magomedov, Rodchenko (London: 1986) under the title 'Conversation with the Agent of the Muses about Poetry'.

40. Aristotle, de Anima, trans.D.W.Hamlyn (Oxford: 1993) 75; see also 'Aristotle on Sense Perception' in Aristotle's de Anima in focus, ed.Durrant (London: 1993)

41. Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Painting Photography Film 1925 (London: 1969) 7.

42. Lisa Cartwright, Screening the Body (Minneapolis: 1995) 1; see also her chapter on X-rays; also Jonathan Crary Techniques of the Observer (Cambridge Ma.: 1991)

43. Bekhterev, op.cit. 404; the objection is worth considering also with reference to Pavlov's later disagreement with Gestalt psychology: I.P.Pavlov, Selected Works (Moscow: n.d.) 578.

44. Haldane, op.cit. 18.

## 2. Pudovkin in Context

The following thesis concentrates on films directed by Vsevolod Illarionovich Pudovkin in the 1920's, films in which he acted or otherwise assisted and films which, by comparison, help towards an understanding of Pudovkin's particular contribution. It is also concerned with his early writing. The limits of the thesis are further marked by the 1928 Statement on Sound, drafted by Eisenstein then signed by Pudovkin and Alexandrov. The Statement repeated forebodings expressed in Film Technique that the synchronisation of sound with image would impose a naturalistic regression upon cinema, that it would be required to serve as a mere record of theatrical staging.[1] Pudovkin was not against the advent of sound per se and, of the three signatories, was the most willing to risk using sound experimentally. In Deserter, for instance, he used distorted sound perspectives, (in the parade music), later termed 'sound close-ups'.[2] However, this project's concern with the theoretical connections between associative psychology and Soviet film practice concentrates attention on attempts to build a new language and a new aesthetic experience in images alone.

Until recently, Soviet cinema has been broached as a clearly defined 'school', conducted by a small number of monolithic directors, politically committed to the revolution, producing canonical masterworks exemplifying well-honed tomes of written theory. Eisenstein and Pudovkin have been yoked together as 'revolutionary' film makers by dint of their historic coincidence, at the expense of further

discussion of the disagreements documented by Eisenstein himself (see chapter nine, below) and by well-informed contemporaries (such as Meierkhold) and by later biographers (such as Marie Seton).* Nor has there been much negotiation of the particular relevance of the term 'revolutionary'. Grierson reiterates the familiar comparison of Pudovkin with Griffith, saying that, stylistically, he was no revolutionary at all.[3] Peter Kenez doubts the suitability of the appellation, given their adherence to and conformity with the aspirations of the new régime;[4] Renato Poggioli doubts that such an association can be ever more than provisional:

> ...every avant-garde movement, in one of its phases at least, aspires to realise...the ideal of 'tabula rasa' which spilled over from the individual and artistic level to that of the collective life. There is the reason why the coinciding of the ideology of a given avant-garde movement and a given political party is only fleeting and contingent...identification of artistic revolution with social revolution is now no more than rhetorical...Sometimes it may, though ephemeral, be sincere, a sentimental illusion... more often we are dealing with an extremist pose or fashion. [5]

This complacent, generalising, commonplace Western view of a Soviet avant-garde, as Brandon Taylor observes, extends across a range of artistic activity:

> The revival of modernism in Britain and America in post-war years...coincided with a hardening of attitudes towards the Soviet Union and posture of downright dismissal towards 'official' Soviet culture of the authoritarian years of Stalin's rule after '32...until recently European and American scholars produced a flood of publications devoted

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*Edward Braun, Meyerhold on Theatre (London: 1969) 322 and Marie Seton, Eisenstein (London: 1952) 92: Eisenstein and Pudovkin would stay up late into the night arguing;"each bought a dog and gave the poor beast the name of his rival. Pudovkin taught his dog, Eisenstein, to beg for titbits, while Eisenstein shouted at his dog, Pudovkin, to make it obey him".

> to Soviet abstraction and 'modernism', linked to utopian interpretations of the events of 1917. 6

Certainly, artists themselves (notably Maiakovskii) found a direct correlation between the vanguardism advocated by Lenin for the correct conduct of the revolution and the self-proclaiming avant-garde in art.[7] Poggioli notes the tendency of modern art to "express the avant-garde as its own extreme or supreme moment",[8] but again finds the assumption of an automatic connection between political and artistic activity not only facile but doomed to disappointment: "...the hypothesis (really only an analogy or a symbol) that aesthetic radicalism and social radicalism, revolutionaries in politics, are allied, which empirically seems valid, is theoretically and historically erroneous".[9] The sentimental view here characterised tends also, I would suggest, to seek analogies between film and concurrent 'fine' art practice rather than anything more common in its appeal, although distinctions are somewhat blurred by the fascination of certain high-art forms in the 1920's with popular culture (circus, jazz, cinema itself) and the genuine intentions of academically trained artists to serve the proletariat through popular and readily accessible material (posters, industrial design, textiles, photography).*[10]

In the past decade there has been more exposure and discussion of pre-revolutionary cinema, for its own sake and as a means of countering what Ian Christie has identified as "the still prevalent view that Soviet cinema was borne

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*The Pushkin museum in Moscow has a room devoted to work in these areas by Stepanova and Rodchenko; the Museum of Decorative, Applied and Folk Art on Delegatskaia has a fine collection of modern textiles and ceramics.

ex-nihilo with the revolution".[11] There has also been a number of complementary studies, resurrecting for a modern audience the popular cinema of the 1920's and its continuity with its pre-revolutionary precursors, especially acknowledging the long service in the industry of certain personnel (such as Protazanov and Gardin).[12] These necessarily confront the embarrassment of the avant-gardists that such state-sponsored films as Eisenstein's Battleship Potemkin had been, at time of release, unpopular with the proletariat for whose benefit they were intended and proved, as even contemporary foreign supporters observed, more popular abroad than with domestic audiences.[13] These films were nevertheless advertised as having enjoyed enormous popularity as an enticement to future attendance.[14] Indeed, the course of state policy in the film industry in the 1920's is explicable only in terms of its admitting the failure of such films as Potemkin to do good box office and compete successfully with the imported product. For instance, Battleship Potemkin was replaced within days of release in Moscow by Fairbanks' Robin Hood.[15] Cinema playbills of the N.E.P. period (1921-1925) list an extraordinary range of films being shown alongside one another. Conversely, Soviet silent films continued to be popular with foreign art-house audiences well into the sound period, perhaps slightly because of their 'revolutionary' aura.[16] The films of Eisenstein and Pudovkin were dealt with differently, and differently abroad according to particular censors' sensitivities.[17]

Pudovkin is not conveniently contained by any of these given parameters. While no lesser figure than Galvano della Volpe would declare Pudovkin his "aesthetic paradigm in

cinema", Pudovkin's Mother was nevertheless impressive commercially.[18] Richard Taylor suggests that the press reviews of Battleship Potemkin and Mother indicate the qualities in his work which equipped Pudovkin all the better to survive under Stalin.[19] Pudovkin was increasingly isolated by the avant-gardists even amongst his contemporaries, possibly lending substance to Moussinac's 1928 analogical classification: "Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Vertov...one could say, for the sake of discussion, that on the same line of activity Eisenstein finds himself in the centre, Pudovkin on the right and Vertov on the left".[20] Iutkevich says that even with Storm over Asia contempt for his perceived abandonment and betrayal of 'pure' cinema was being expressed (see also chapter four, below):

> Pudovkin was definitely rejected and excommunicated by...a group of theoreticians, partisans of montage cinema, 'grand' and 'pure'. Storm over Asia was considered as regressive, contrary to the general direction of cinema, submissive to its subject and to mere chances of fortune, and other reprehensible things...there was a conspiracy of silence around this film. [21]

Many of Pudovkin's contemporaries were ostracised, even eventually driven into exile by Stalin's rise to power and the concomitant restrictions on artistic freedom. Accusations of formalism and modernism were then to become a code "for a high intellectual level not suitable for propaganda purposes".[22] Pudovkin survived, continuing to direct films almost to the last.

Writing to Ralph Parker in 1958, Ivor Montagu says that "Film Technique and Film Acting in the English speaking world have been reprinted again and again...because they have been the only simple materials on deep fundamentals av-

ailable. There is just as much interest in them, as basic classics, as ever".[23] Even in the 1980's, Ivor Montagu continued to argue for the "value to the present generation" of his translations of Pudovkin.[24] According to Paul E.Burns, writing in 1981, "Pudovkin's present reputation primarily derives from his theoretical writings, which are straightforward and accessible".[25] If this claim is to be accepted, it seems worth enquiring in what form his writings were received in the West, to what extent this corresponds to their original publication and whether the vicissitudes of his career as a director are consistently represented in print.

Pudovkin's first article, 'Vremia v Kinematografe', was written while he was with the Kuleshov workshop and appeared in Kino in February 1923. Mostly, Pudovkin applied himself to subjects which were of popular concern and which were commonly addressed elsewhere. In 1926 he published in Moscow Kino Rezhisser i Kino Material (The Cinema Director and Cinema Material) and also Kino-Stsenarii (The Film Scenario).(ill.2.i) Both very slim, very small volumes contributed to a 'popular science' series of some twenty titles, including also Turkin's The Cinema Actor and Gabrioshin's I want to work in cinema; forthcoming attractions included a couple of items by Osip Brik, also a History of Cinema and Cinema City and the work of the Film Studio in America. Neither of Pudovkin's 1926 publications were illustrated nor referenced. Ivor Montagu translated and amalgamated them under the title Film Technique. Pudovkin gave the project his blessing:

> Your proposal to translate my book into English pleased me greatly. I consider it of the utmost urgency to draw together ideas, in order that cinema workers of all countries may stand with one

№ 3 БИБЛИОТЕЧКА КИНО № 3

В. ПУДОВКИН

# КИНО - СЦЕНАРИЙ

## ТЕОРИЯ СЦЕНАРИЯ

КИНО - ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО Р. С. Ф. С. Р.
Москва 1926

> another in close alliance. Not many important and interesting thoughts emerge during the course of work, just for want of such a union. In so far as my book demonstrates the main theoretical principles, I will look forward especially to the appearance of the book in English. 26

Throughout the 1920's, Pudovkin gave academy lectures at home and abroad and produced articles for newspapers and periodicals: Kino; Sovetskoe Kino; Kino-gazeta; Sovetskii Ekran; ARK zhurnal; Kino i Kul'tura. A selection of these were incorporated into the 1935 and later editions of Film Technique and, as a matter of courtesy, Montagu continued to send Pudovkin a share of the royalties.[27]

By the early 1930's, Pudovkin's writing for domestic and foreign consumption accommodates the shift in emphasis urged by the state. Articles in Experimental Cinema denounce the preoccupation of Soviet directors in earlier years with montage at the expense of all else, notably plot and character development.[28] In 1934, Pudovkin's Akter v fil'me was published in Leningrad with an introduction by Iezuitov. Its illustrations include Pudovkin in his roles in Kuleshov's The Death Ray and Otsep's The Living Corpse, of Nikolai Batalov and Vera Baranovskaia in Mother and Valeri Inkizhinov in Storm over Asia.[29] Pudovkin cautioned Montagu before he embarked upon the translation:

> I must warn you that this book has been done peculiarly. It has not been written but dictated, therefore I am very much afraid that it lacks the requisite continuity and line. Some questions have been set in the beginning and not solved, simply because I had forgotten about them towards the end of my speech...at all cost when publishing the book make mention that it has not been WRITTEN BUT TAKEN DOWN from my speeches in the Academy...write to me about all the unclarities which you wil come across when translating (e.g. you probably do not know what the meaning of the "rehearsal period of Kuleshov" is etc.). I shall send you at once the necessary amplifications and explanations. If a

> special foreword is necessary for the English edition I shall also write this. 30

There is little new personal development in Pudovkin's later writing, nor does he make an innovative contribution to a general debate (see chapter nine, below). Much he seemingly arrives at second-hand: for instance, writing in Iskusstvo Kino in 1938, Pudovkin acknowledges the usefulness of Rudolph Bode's system of gymnastics (which Eisenstein had discussed in 1924 and included in his curriculum) and of Delsarte (familiar to all erstwhile members of the Kuleshov workshop and, similarly, a film school staple).[31] His later articles tend to harp upon a single, safe theme:'Realizm, naturalizm i "sistema" Stanislavskogo' (1939); 'Idei Stanislavskogo i kino' (1948); an introduction to Aleinikov's book Puti sovetskogo kino i MKhAT (1946) and 'Rabota akterov kino i "sistema" Stanislavskogo' (1952), translated as the 1953 Sight & Sound article 'Stanislavski's system in the cinema'.[32] Pudovkin continued to publish articles into the 1940's and 1950's, allowing his name to be attached to proselytising state publications intent upon the promotion of current Soviet film practice elsewhere and the denunciation of bourgeois formalism. In Soviet Films: Principal Stages of Development (Bombay, 1951), he declares that:

> ...the first works of Kuleshov idealised American detective films with their empty and only superficial dynamics...FEX...expected to produce cinema actors and films which first of all would strike spectators by the unusualness of their affected form. Young Eisenstein produced...Strike filled with mere formal tricks. Instead of showing a serious and important stage in the history of the Russian labour movement, the formalistic freaks of the author led spectators away from real life, confused and sometimes distorted the link of the film with actual historical reality. 33

Meanwhile, Ivor Montagu's original translation of Film Tech-

nique and Film Acting was pirated and published without his permission in the United States. The U.S.S.R. was not party to international copyright agreements, making it possible for material to be taken without consent. Montagu intended a new edition as a counter-attack, to which Pudovkin provisionally agreed; he could have proceeded in the absence of Pudovkin's authorisation but felt "morally bound not to do so".[34]

> Pudovkin is very interested to bring out an edition but only in the following form. With a new critical preface by himself or by himself and myself jointly; possibly adding an essay he has written on the history of Soviet film and...delivered as a speech a short while ago; and possibly the iconography brought up to date...It is my feeling, though, that he will not get down to the critical preface and notes side of the work until he is pressed. [35]

In subsequent years, Montagu continued to badger Pudovkin into producing the new material, which was in turn repeatedly promised. Montagu's despatch of 27th.June 1952 runs as follows:

> Dear Vsevolod Illarionovich,
> I am writing to send you what has almost become an annually repeated letter of reproach.
> You promised me some time ago that you would write a new preface for the famous work 'Pudovkin on Film Technique', written to apply to silent days, placing it in perspective; and you said that until you had written this preface you did not wish it to be reprinted.
> When last we met I told you, and it is still the case, that there is great interest in this book all over the world. This is not because people are under any illusion that the book is the last word on film art as it is understood today, or in its realist application, but as a classic of theoretical writing of the early days of silent cinema and therefore part of the complete storehouse of culture with which all intending students should make themselves familiar.
> I am constantly being pressed to allow a reprint and up to now have always had to refuse because waiting for the preface which you promised. The result is that the Americans, after vainly trying to get our permission, have already stolen the book and published their own reprint without any

benefit to us and destroyed part of the market for any revised authorised edition which we might eventually publish.
This cannot be helped, but I am reminded of the situation by the fact that I have today received a request from Japan to be allowed to publish a translation and have once again to give the reply that this cannot be allowed...But is it not possible for you to turn out even if only just a little brief introduction, that will enable us to take control of all these proposals once again? Our failure to do so does not act as a dam to the flood of editions, only diverts them into unauthorised forms... 36

Eventually, in 1955. a new selection of Pudovkin's writings was published posthumously in the Soviet Union and Ivor Montagu asked for advice as to its potential merit in translation.[37] His old friend Sergei Nolbandov was not encouraging:

> Here is my general opinion. Frankly, I was disappointed. There is nothing new or exciting from a film technique point of view. A great deal is polemical, on the defensive, public self-criticism which sounds a little false and is in a way rather unpleasant. So is the self-justification. The style is rather turgid and pompous, studded with 'educated long words' and often loaded with pious political orthodoxy. This was of course absent in Pudovkin's earlier work. In many instances you will find political statements in the approved manner...'Towards the Communist Target'- high faluting and pompous; 'How I became a film director'- which unfortunately tells very little of "how"- I would recommend a foreword...On the whole I do not feel that any of this material, except Pudovkin's radically changed views on 'typage' and professional acting (versus the Stanislavski system) and his more interesting and developed theories of montage would add any lustre to the old edition. There is a general aura of fossilisation over the whole thing. It may be that his elephantine style and heavy humour just get me down. I was rather bored. 38

The edition under discussion was out of print by 1960. Currently, the most complete collections of Pudovkin's writings are available only in Russian: The Selected Works (Sobranie Sochinenii, 3vols. 1975-77) edited by Karaganov with Zapasnik and Petrovich; O sebe i svoikh fil'makh 1975, also edited by

Zapasnik and Petrovich and translated into German as Die Zeit in Grossaufnahme 1983. The same authors are responsible also for an anthology of interviews and reminiscences, Pudovkin v vospominaniiakh sovremennikov, published in 1989.

Devotees of Pudovkin's films, as of his writing from the Heroic Age of Soviet Cinema have, for the most part, disparaged his later work for its want of inventiveness and the apparent willingness to comply with an orthodox cultural and ideological agenda. However, the spirit with which Pudovkin launched himself into the early experiments with montage and "close-ups in time" is not entirely lost: the French critic Pierre Billard was sufficiently generous to find something worthwhile amidst the routine dreams of tractors in Harvest (1952), praising it for its adventurous use of colour.[39] Georges Sadoul, like Nolbandov, accuses Pudovkin of naïveté, intending, I think, his style and temperament and his complicity with the state.[40] Dmitri and Vladimir Shlapentokh say that Pudovkin was sufficiently astute to supply Dukeleski, head of Soyuzkino from 1938, "with new 'evidence' of the criminal activity of the previous leadership. At the same time, as a good friend, he tried to exploit this discussion in favour of his colleagues by suggesting that they were also victims of 'enemies of people' who controlled cinematography. In this way he was able to protect both himself and his friends";[41] but the Shlapentokhs hold Pudovkin significantly accountable, though certainly not alone, in the denunciation under Stalin of himself and former colleagues. It is beyond the scope of the present enquiry to attempt to estimate the sincerity of Pudovkin's service after the Great Break, or, for that

matter, to question his original adherence to the ideological and cultural ideals of the 1920's. Vertov, Dovzhenko, Romm and Donskoi similarly made films under Stalin, apparently unaware of the atrocities of which he was capable.[42] Gabrilovich probably comes near to a truth by which I, at least, am persuaded: "In order to understand so many of the puzzles, secrets and absurdities of our complicated life, it is necessary to comprehend most of all, the real significance of fear". Gabrilovich places himself, along with Eisenstein, amongst those who managed to glorify reality "but with various reservations and innuendoes". Eisenstein, for instance, sought an 'expert' opinion from Stalin as to the exact length of Ivan the Terrible's beard.[43] Nor was Pudovkin, although managing to continue to work, exempt from criticism from officials and onetime colleagues: Rotha, writing in 1951, reports the criticisms levelled at Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Vertov and Dovzhenko "for the pursuit of a barren intellectualism";[44] Bleimar says that he well remembers Pudovkin pleading his case with the film regulators "in the blue room";[45] Suvorov (1941) was the subject of a letter to the director from Stalin himself and was publicly vilified.[46]

Pudovkin's Film Acting and the journal articles of the early 1930's appear already to endorse what had by then become official doctrine. It may be that Pudovkin was prepared to compromise the previous theoretical principles in order to survive but I should like to suggest that the ease with which he seemingly acclimatised himself to a revival of 'psychologism' in film was equally presaged in his direction

in the 1920's of Mother and Storm over Asia and in his performance in The Living Corpse (ill.2.ii): that is to say, the writing expressed a practice in which he already felt comfortable. In his portrayal of the unloved and unloving husband Theodore, Pudovkin adopts a minimalist style: the slow lowering and raising of the eyes as a gesture of resignation; the merest hint of a shrug of the shoulders to indicate the tedium and indifference with which he now meets the world and accepts the sole prospect for his own redemption. (see chapter five, below) The discrepancy between the performance and the technique of the 'naturshchik' advocated hitherto was not lost on Montagu:

> As you will see, The Living Corpse has been well received and highly praised. Personally I did not like it or indeed your acting which seemed to me in some places to illustrate the defects which you have taught us are inseparable from professional actors! However, I look forward to discussing it.
>
> 47

Peter Dart's monograph, Pudovkin's Films and Film Theory (1974), takes it for granted that the selected writings of Pudovkin under consideration constitute a work of theory. There is no discussion of what might be usefully deemed a film theory nor yet what might be construed as theory per se. Given that Pudovkin is frequently tagged "the Russian Griffith", there lacks any consideration on Dart's part that Pudovkin's chief purpose may have been no more than to codify and lend testimony to techniques which he judged had proved themselves already efficacious elsewhere. Pudovkin's The Cinema Scenario and The Cinema Director and Cinema Material appeared shortly after the premier of Mother; Film Acting appeared after the completion of A Simple Case (Life is Good) and Deserter and refers also to the performance in


ВИКТОР ЖУКОВ
ИВАНОВКИН
ЖИВОЙ ПРИМЕР
МЕЖРАБПОМ-РУСЬ
ПРОЛЕТАРСКАЯ

The Living Corpse. Both Pudovkin and Eisenstein quote practical work in which they have been engaged in order to illustrate and clarify the argument presented. Pudovkin frequently refers to his experiences on set with Doller, Golovnia, Baranovskaia, Batalov, Inkizhinov, Zarkhi and others. He is willing to share credit and says that ideas could be volunteered by any one of them, to be taken up by the group. Indeed, I venture to suggest that, for the most part, Pudovkin's writing would be better represented as a collection of workshop 'receipts'. In comparison to Eisenstein, Pudovkin's output of theoretical material was not large, and unlike Eisenstein, he seemed to lack the temperament (or the stomach) for theoretical writing for its own sake. While Pudovkin later balked at Montagu's request for new material, perhaps restrained by a reluctance to fall foul unwittingly of the authorities, and confined himself to the repetition of safe and pious platitudes, Eisenstein continued ever to elaborate and revise the theoretical basis of of films he would not live to realise; Eisenstein seemingly enjoyed theoretical endeavour as a distinct enterprise. According to Inkizhinov, this preference was betrayed in his manner of directing performers, mechanically applying a preconceived abstract formula rather than allowing performances to be procedurally organically involving and evolving.[48]

For leftist film-makers and artists of the 1920's, producing works of theory was a required corollary to practice. More crucially, theory was required in order that things could be made and made effective. (see chapter eight, below) Maiakovskii stated the ground rules of his own practice, more craft perhaps than art:

> Poetry is a manufacture. A very difficult, very complex kind, but a manufacture.
> Instruction in poetical work doesn't consist in the study of already fixed and delimited models of poetical works, but a study of the procedures of manufacture, a study that helps us to make new things. 49

Through their writings they entered into fierce debate with one another (for instance, the damning by Maiakovskii in Kino and by others of Eisenstein's depiction of Lenin in October) and with commentators abroad. (see chapter nine, below) The journals construct debates around particular themes. Discussion of Mechanics of the Brain in Sovetskoe Kino 1 is accompanied by items concerning similar scientific subjects; Sovetskoe Kino 7 collects together reviews of Barnet's Moscow in October, Shub's Ten Years, Eisenstein's October and Pudovkin's The End of St.Petersburg. Petrov's What the Cinema Actor needs to know (1926) and likewise Pudovkin's Film Acting address themselves to the need to familiarise oneself with the whole collective film making process. Kuleshov dedicates his Art of the Cinema (1929) to cinema audiences, executives and film-makers, seeking to engender a discussion between these parties and to engage a larger public in the issues raised.[50] Pudovkin speaks of the need for a popular audience to be schooled in film-watching as it is becoming in literature. However, even in the journal articles, Pudovkin's early writing adopts a measured form and lacks the predominant political thrust and angry polemicising which characterises the self-styled manifestos of the period. He never presumes for himself or his practice an exclusive prerogative on correctness:

> The film is yet young and the wealth of its methods is not yet extensive; for this reason it is possible to indicate temporary limitations without necessarily attributing to them the permanence and inflexibility of laws.

> Everything said here regarding simple methods of taking shots has certainly only information value. What particular method of shooting is to be used, only his own taste and his own finer feelings can tell the scenarist. Here are no rules; the field for new invention and combination is wide. 51

Pudovkin's writing is tempered and qualified by the recognition of the potential in film yet to be discovered: Dziga Vertov sets the tone against which I am casting Pudovkin:

> WE call ourselves Cine-Eyes as distinct from cinematographers: that flock of junk-dealers who do rather well peddling their rags...WE declare the old films, the romantic, the theatricalised etc., to be leprous. 52

This haranguing of the reader was not confined to film criticism. "Everyone who feels himself capable of doing so", jibes Zamiatin, "is required to compose treatises, epic poem poems, manifestos, odes or other compositions dealing with the beauty and grandeur of One State".[53] However, privileged by its comparative youth, its popular and transnational appeal and its documentary attachment to contemporary events as they happened, film was credited with particular effect and impetus.

Much of early film theory, in Soviet Russia and elsewhere, is concerned with establishing the equal status of film with the ancient arts (Caciotto, Canudo, Arnheim, Harms et. al.) and also with delineating its distinct parameters. (see chapter seven, below) Although Kuleshov, Pudovkin and Eisenstein elect to practise montage differently, true to type as a Soviet 'school', in the 1920's at least, they agree that editing is the technique by which film distinguishes itself. Pudovkin stresses also the nature of its material base, the substance which the artist/director handles and crafts in the editing process:

> ...the active raw material for the film director is those pieces of celluloid on which, from various view points, the separate movements have been shot. [54]

This emphasis on the materiality of film and its origins in photography placed its claims qua art in an arguable position, amply articulated by the various polemicising factions. The cameraman Vladimir Nilsen reports the unanimity with which the congress of 'Russian Artists and Amateurs of Art' in 1894 disqualified photography's artistic ambitions: "Photography may serve as a simple substitute but not as an independent means of artistic creation".[55] Photography was rejected as a merely mechanical record. Pudovkin implicitly responds to the extension of this dismissal to film. In The Cinema Director and Cinema Material, he stresses the distance in the relationship between the fabricated product (the film) and its various subjects in nature, the happening of real events in real space and real time: "To show something as everyone sees it is to have accomplished nothing".[56] Pudovkin prioritises editing as the process of synthesis and transformation of material required in order that film should attain creditation as art, but also acknowledges that the most basic element of film, the individual camera set-up, is fundamentally analytical, selective and estranged from natural perception:

> Normal human vision can embrace a little less than 180' of surrounding space...the field of the lens is considerably less...already the director begins to leave behind the normal apprenension of real space...picks out from it only a part...Not only does the small view angle set bounds to the space in which the action develops both in height and in width but...the depth of the space picked out is also limited. [57]

In this straightforward acknowledgement of the formal implications for film imposed by the camera's technical prop-

erties, Pudovkin at once marks himself out from the cultish commentaries of many of his contemporaries. The camera and camera lens appear as a frequent motif on film posters, often superimposed on a bespectacled or naked eye (for instance, the posters by Rodchenko and the Shterenberg brothers for Vertov, and the Shterenbergs' poster for Ruttmann's Berlin).[58](ill.2.iii;iv;v) "I am the Cine-Eye", proclaimed Vertov:

> I am the mechanical eye. I the machine show you the world as only I can see it. I emancipate myself henceforth and forever from human immobility. I am in constant motion. I approach objects and move away from them, I creep up to them,I clamber over them, I move alongside the muzzle of a running horse. I tear into a crowd at full tilt, I flee before fleeing soldiers, I turn over on my back, I rise up with aeroplanes, I fall and rise with falling and rising bodies...Freed from any obligation to 16-17 frames a second, freed from any restraints of time and space, I juxtapose any points in the universe regardless of where I fixed them. My path leads towards the creation of a fresh perception of the world. I can thus decipher a world that you do not know. 59

The recurrence of the image asserts the primacy of the camera as an instrument of vision, the epistemological privilege accorded vision itself, but also asserts the camera-derived image as the product of a machine, and, as such, an object of veneration. Vertov, like Maiakovskii, urged that material be drawn from the street, constantly mobile and constantly changing.[60] Vertov argued that by recording life as it was, by making films of fact rather than of constructed fiction, he was closer to an authentic view of the world and that this authenticity constituted an art more appropriate to a revolutionary society. Indeed, Vertov was with extraordinary alacrity and facility simply turning the old academicians' objection to photography on its head: the mechanical, documentary functions which had hitherto denied it artistic status were now pronounced its crowning glory.


Poster for "Kino Glaz", 1924



2.iii.

Автор руководитель эксперимента
ДЗИГА ВЕРТОВ

Главный оператор М. КАУФМАН
Ассистент по монтажу Е. СВИЛОВА

ПРОИЗВОДСТВО ВУФКУ

2 СТЕНБЕРГ 2

ПРОИЗВОДСТВО ВУФКУ

# ЧЕЛОВЕК С АППАРАТОМ

КИНО

(Государственное кинематографическое издательство ВУФКУ) в Харькове, на [illegible] Типография [illegible]

Подписано 1929

Заказ [illegible]

2.iv.

# СИМФОНИЯ ГОРОДА

Режиссер-ВАЛЬТЕР РУТТМАН.
Операторы: РЕЙМЕР КУНЦЕ, РОБЕРТ БАБЕСКЕ, Л. ШЕФФЕР.
Сценарий-КАРЛА ФРЕУНДА.

СОЮЗКИНО ВЫПУСК

2 СЕРИИ

2.V.

The theses of Eisenstein, Pudovkin, Kuleshov and Maiakovskii are symptomatic of a broader concern to understand how humankind found itself represented in and by the machine. There was widespread adoption of the machine as a metaphor for society. Society, perceived as a structured whole, and its by-products, were cast as technical functions subject to quantifiable and immutable laws. The individual in society was subject to such laws as was the whole. There was a need to understand the material processes and operation of these laws in order that the new society could be formed appropriately, could be shaped and directed. Frederick Winslow Taylor's The Principles of Scientific Management (1911), although addressed to an American and British audience, was widely popularised and enormously influential in the new Soviet state, appealing to its americanising aspirations, as was also the work of his principal French supporter, Jules Amar. Taylor's notion of the individual as a standardised unit in the production machine was readily appropriated. He cites an example of a bricklayer reducing his movements to a minimum expenditure of effort necessary for achieving a given task. Of his time and motion studies he says: "What we hoped ultimately to determine was what fraction of a horse-power a man was able to exert, how many foot-pounds of work a man could do in a day...".[61] Amar tabulates daily consumption of calories commensurate with different tasks and, again, undertakes a study of construction workers.[62] In the Soviet state the scientistic aspirations of such systems acquired a particular ideological and political impetus and practical urgency. Alexei Gastev, one time railway worker and disciple of Taylor, was hailed as the

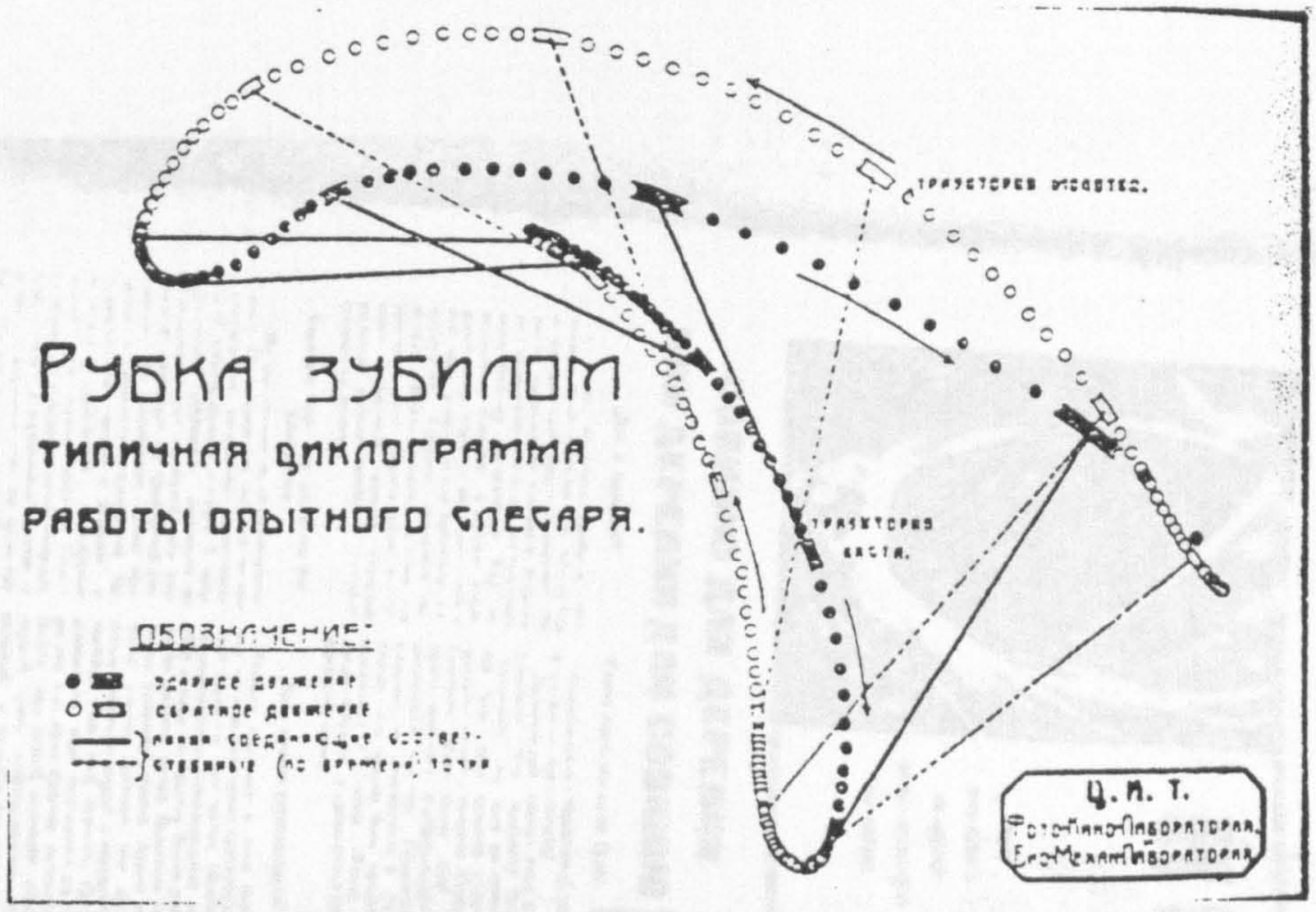
true voice of the proletariat:

> In the machine and instrument
> everything has been calculated and adjusted.
> We shall do the same with
> the living machine- man.
> Mankind has learned
> To manufacture things.
> It is time we learned
> The manufacture of men. 63

When not writing "odes to the beauty and grandeur of One State", Gastev undertook photographic analyses of the economical use of hand-tools (ill.2.vi;vii). These experiments supported the formulation of Bio-mechanics by Meierkhold and by Kuleshov. (see chapter five, below)

Some theoreticians embarked upon an equivalent time and motion study of the physiological effect upon films' spectators, seemingly endeavouring to map reflex and mechanical human reception against the mechanisms of film: Eisenstein praises the work of the Psycho-Neurological Institute in this field (see chapter nine, below); Moussinac's Naissance du Cinéma (1925) charts the experiments of Drs. Toulouse and Mourgue, recording the reactions in breathing rate to a selection of films and film excerpts.[64] Kuleshov drew his conclusions as to the effectiveness of a number of film techniques by watching film audiences; Soviet cinema journals frequently exhorted film workers to engage in observation of the mass at the movies, especially the larger portion for which film viewing was a novel experience.[65] For instance, Sovetskoe Kino 1 includes such an article dedicated to the reception of films in the countryside.(ill.2.viii)

The early theories are fired with an enthusiasm for


Рубка зубилом
типичная диаграмма
работы опытного слесаря.
обозначение:
ударное движение
обратное движение
линии соединяющие соответственные (по времени) точки
траектория инструмента.
траектория кисти.
Ц. Н. Т.
Фотолаборатория
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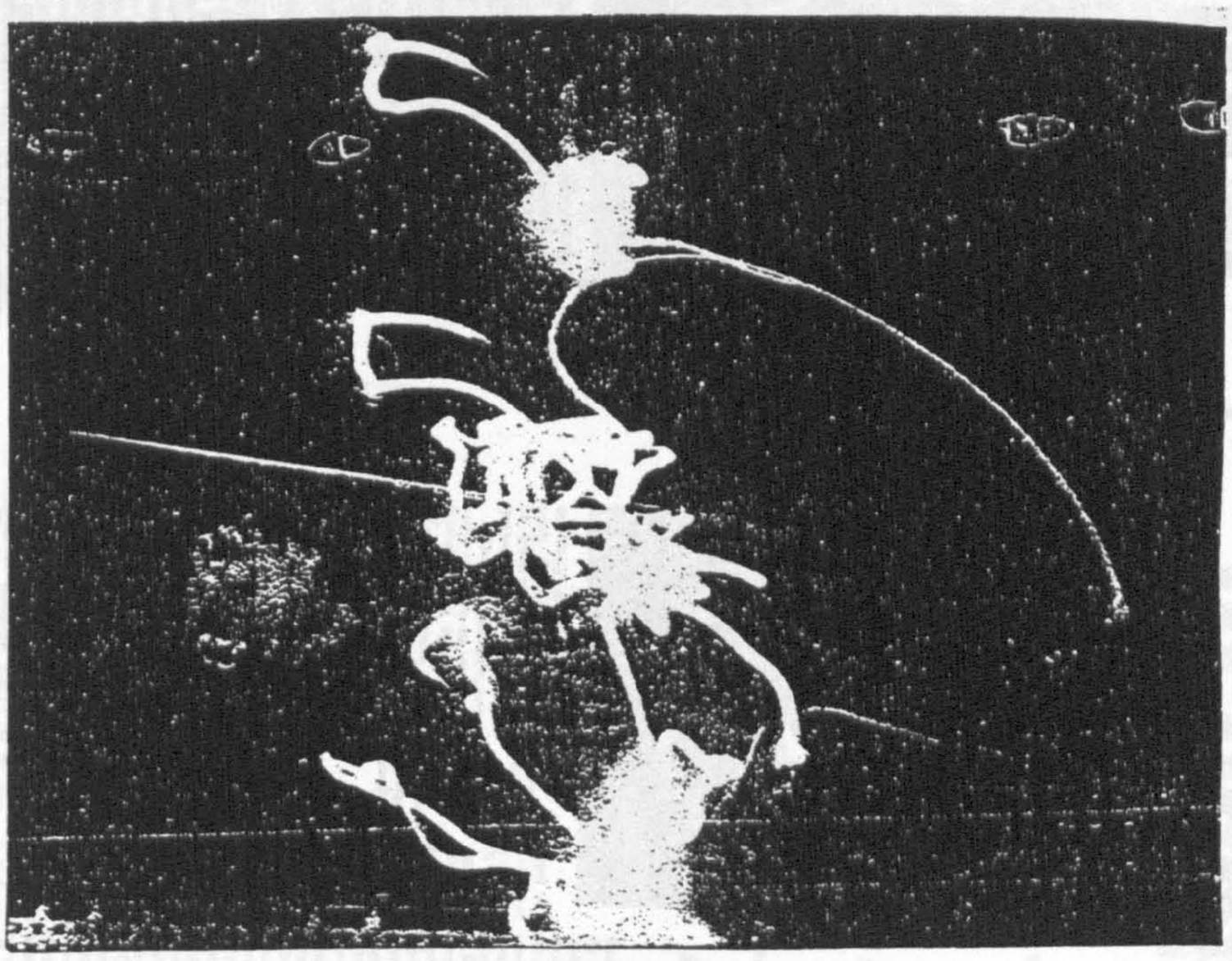

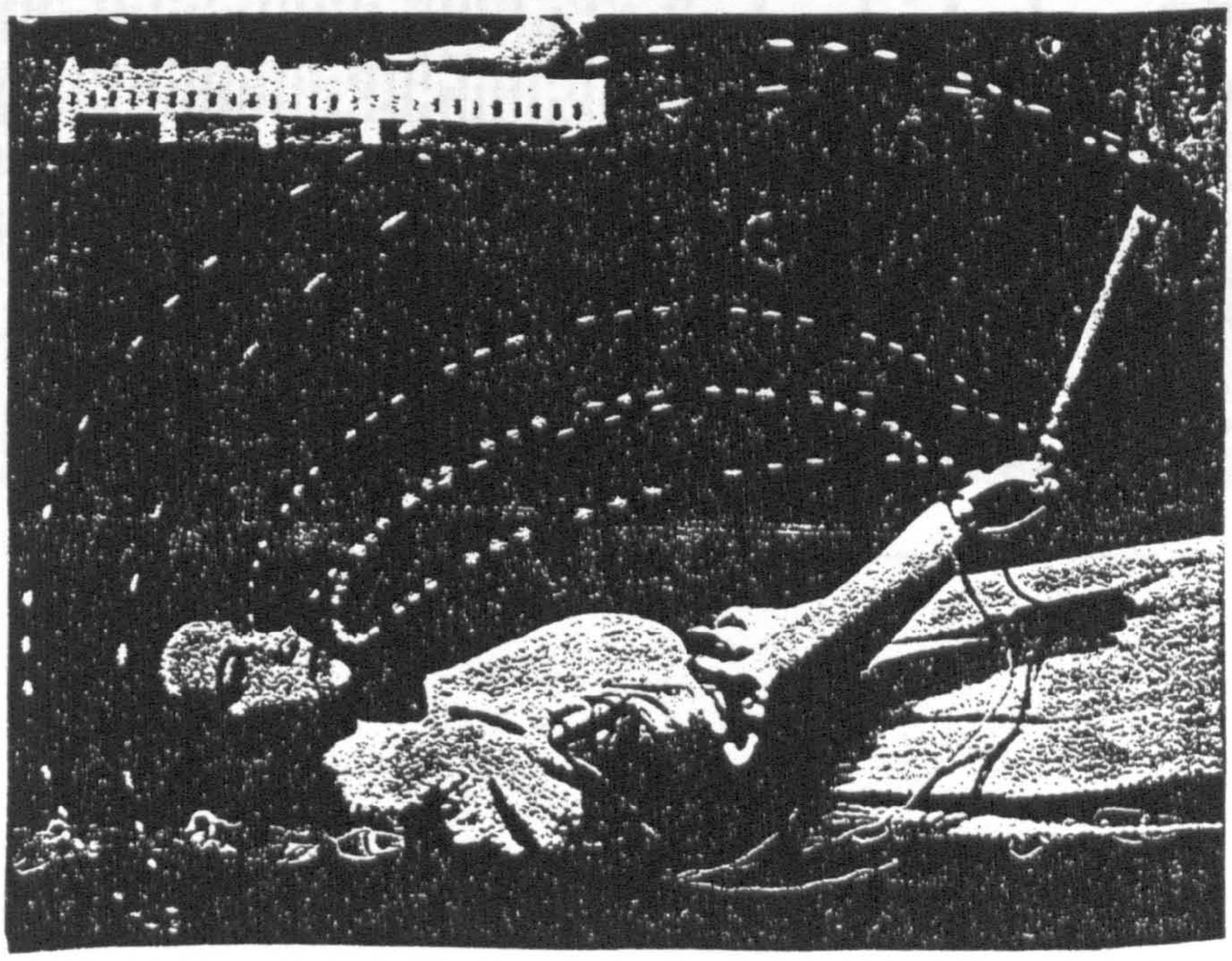

КИНО И

СОВКИНО ДЛЯ ДЕРЕВНИ
ИЛИ ДЕРЕВНЯ ДЛЯ СОВКИНО

ДЕРЕВНЯ

2.viii.

the sheer novelty of the medium: "the cinema is not only a new interpretative art form, it is the only new one mankind has ever known", says Elliott.[66] For Panofsky and Harms (as philosophers) and Münsterberg (as psychologist), even for the dilettante Fort Buckle, film is further appreciated as a new phenomenon, an object opening onto new fields of aesthetic and psychological enquiry. There for them is a state of quasi tabula rasa:

> For the first time the psychologist can observe the starting of an entirely new aesthetic development...created by its very technique and yet more than any other art destined to overcome outer nature by the free and joyful play of the mind. 67

1. FF

2. FA

3. Forsyth Hardy, ed.Grierson on Documentary, 1946 (London: 1979) 24.

4. Peter Kenez, Cinema and Soviet Society (Cambridge: 1992) 51.

5. Renato Poggioli, The Theory of the Avant-Garde (Harvard: 1968) 96.

6. Brandon Taylor, Art and Literature under the Bolsheviks II (London: 1992) xvi.

7. V.I.Lenin, 'Dogmatism and "Freedom of Criticism"', What is to be Done? 1902, trans.Robert Service (Harmondsworth: 1988) 92.

8. Poggioli, op.cit. 81.

9. ibid. 95; see also Daniel Herwitz, 'Constructivism's Utopian Game with Theory', Making Theory/Constructing Art (Chicago: 1993)

10. see Camilla Gray, The Russian Experiment in Art (London: 1986)

11. the IAMHIST conference 'Continuity and Change' (see Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television 2.2 [1991]) the publication of Silent Witnesses (London: 1989) and the B.F.I. video series 'Russian Pioneers', have gone some way towards correcting this misapprehension.

12. Ian Christie and Julian Graffy, Protazanov (London: 1993)

13. Winifred Ellerman (Bryher), Film Problems of Soviet Russia (Territet: 1929) 30.

14. Kristin Thompson, 'Government Policies and Practical Necessities', Anna Lawton, ed.The Red Screen (London: 1992) and Denise J.Youngblood, Movies for the Masses (Cambridge: 1992)

15. Valérie Posener, 'Comment Douglas Fairbanks et Igor Illinski se disputèrent à cause de Mary Pickford', François Albéra, Vers une Théorie de l'Acteur (Lausanne: 1990) 70.

16. Vlada Petrić, 'Soviet Revolutionary Films in the U.S.A.', Ph.D. thesis, New York U, 1973.

17. for instance, although the films of both Eisenstein and Pudovkin were barred from public screens in G.B., only Eisenstein prompted parliamentary questions; in the Netherlands, Ansje van Beusekom tells me, Pudovkin's humanitarian appeal was considered more insidiously subversive and potentially dangerous than Eisenstein's overt propagandising; (for reception in the Netherlands, see also Paul Overy, De Stijl (London: 1991) 33. )

18. qu.Stefano Masi, V.I.Pudovkin (Florence: 1985) 127.

19. Richard Taylor, Film Propaganda in Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany (Cambridge: 1979) 90.

20. Léon Moussinac, Le Cinéma Soviétique (Paris: 1928) 147

21. Iutkevich, interviewed by Luda and Jean Schnitzer, Poudovkine (Paris: 1966) 159.

22. Dmitri and Vladimir Shlapentokh, Soviet Cinematography (New York: 1993) 28.

23. Ivor Montagu Collection, B.F.I. Special Materials, Item 101.

24. ibid., Item 97.

25. Paul E.Burns, 'Pudovkin' Journal of Popular Film and Television 19.2 (1981) 70.

26. I.M.C./B.F.I./S.M. Item 89, letter from Pudovkin 7th.Dec.1928

27. ibid., Item 101, letter 14th.July 1954 from Montagu to his solicitor

28. V.I.Pudovkin, 'Film Direction and Film Manuscript', Experimental Cinema 1.1 & 1.2 (1930)

29. these illustrations appear also in the memorial edition of Film Technique and Film Acting (London: 1968)

30. I.M.C./B.F.I./S.M. Item 92, letter to Montagu 10th.Jan.1935

31. FF 393-7 (original in Iskusstvo Kino 1938); SME I 57.

32. V.I.Pudovkin, Sobranie Sochinenii (Moscow: 1975-77)

33. Pudovkin, Alexandrov, Piriev, Soviet Films: Principal Stages of Development (Bombay: 1951) 6; the Shlapentokhs, op.cit., cast Piriev as an arch chauvinist

34. I.M.C./B.F.I./S.M. Item 101

35. ibid., 25th.Sept.1949

36. ibid.

37. A.Groshev, Izbrannye stat'i (Moscow: 1955)

38. I.M.C./B.F.I./S.M. Item 101

39. Pierre Billard in Cahiers du Cinéma 55.1 (1955)

40. Georges Sadoul, Recherches Soviétiques: Cinéma (Paris: 1956) pref.

41. Shlapentokh, op.cit. 29.

42. ibid. 80.

43. ibid. 24.

44. Paul Rotha, The Film Till Now (London: 1951) 566.

45. Schnitzer, op.cit. 176.

46. Shlapentokh, op.cit. 57; see also Babitsky and Rimberg, op.cit.

47. I.M.C./B.F.I./S.M. Item 89, letter to Pudovkin 23rd.July 1929, sent together with review of film

48. Valeri Inkizhinov, 'Les Souvenirs d'Inkijinoff', Cinéma 167 (1972)

49. Vladimir Maiakovskii, How are Verses Made?, trans. G.M.Hyde (Bristol: 1990) 88; Maiakovskii continues:

> Innovation, innovation in materials and devices, is a sine qua non of every poetical composition ...To understand the social command accurately, a poet must be in the middle of things and events. A knowledge of theoretical economics, a knowledge of the realities of everyday life, an immersion in the scientific study of history are for the poet, in the very fundamentals of his work, more important than scholarly textbooks by idealist professors who worship the past.

50. Lev Kuleshov, 'Art of the Cinema' in Ronald Levaco, ed.Kuleshov on Film (London: 1974) 42.

51. FT 7 & 38.

52. FF 69.

53. Yevgeny Zamyatin, We, trans.Clarence Brown (Harmondsworth: 1993) 3.

54. FT 56.

55. Vladimir Nilsen, Cinema as a Graphic Art (London: 1936) 140; see also David Elliott, Photography in Russia 1840-1940 (London: 1992) 51, re use of paintings as models for early photographs

56. FT 63.

57. ibid. 121.

58. see Mildred Constantine, Revolutionary Soviet Film Posters (London: 1974) also Susan Peck, Film Posters of the Russian Avant-Garde (Berlin: 199-)

59. FF 93, originally Lef 3 (1923); Vertov here identifies himself with an apparatus seemingly detached from an operator; elsewhere in the film journals there are features devoted to intrepid cameramen (including Kaufman) creeping, clambering, rising and falling with camera.

60. Maiakovskii, op.cit. 88.

61. F.W.Taylor, The Principles of Scientific Management (New York: 1947) 55 & 79.

62. Jules Amar, Le Moteur Humain et les bases scientifiques du travail professionnel (Paris: 1914) 185 & 576; Amar is also aware [609] as was Gastev, of the ramifications of Taylor for employer/employee relations: see K.E.Bailes, 'Alexei Gastev and the Soviet Controversy over Taylorism' Soviet Studies XXIX.3 (1977) 373-94.

63. Kurt Johasson, Aleksei Gastev,Proletarian Bard (Stockholm: 1983) 27.

64. Léon Moussinac, Naissance du Cinéma (Paris: 1925) 171.

65. Levaco, op.cit.

66. Eric Elliott, Anatomy of Motion Picture Art (Territet: 1928) 142.

67. Hugo Münsterberg, The Film: A Psychological Study 1916 (New York: 1970) 100.

## 3. I.P.Pavlov and Mechanics of the Brain (the behaviour of animals and man)

It was not mere chance that the task of filming Pavlov's new laboratory was entrusted by Mezhrabpom-Rus to the relatively inexperienced Pudovkin. Pudovkin had trained as a chemist in his youth; supposedly a colleague of Pavlov was sufficiently impressed by Pudovkin's knowledge to offer him a placement.[1] According to his wife, Anna Zaitseva-Sellanova, Pudovkin retained a zealous interest in science and scientific innovation. She depicts him as something of a Renaissance polymath and an eternal adolescent, always interested in things new.[2] He hoped to make a film which would demonstrate and explain a great scientific idea or principle. In retrospect it now seems that he came closer to realising this aim with Mechanics of the Brain (the behaviour of animals and man) than with the Stalinist bio-pics. devoted to Great Men of Science (the aviator Zhukovski) similar in tendency to his Great Men of History series of the same period (General Nakhimov, Admiral Suvorov). Although Mechanics of the Brain includes an establishing shot of Pavlov's Leningrad laboratory, followed by a brief glimpse of academician Pavlov himself, reading in his study, and even occasional accredited quotations, the film is more an exposition of the work than a paean to the man.(ill. 3.i.a)

Boris Babkin was a pupil of Pavlov who fled the Soviet Union for England then Canada. Corroborating the usual assumption of the pertinence of Pavlov's work (cited in chapter one), he says that:

> Very soon after the accession of the Bolsheviks to power Pavlov's teachings on conditioned reflexes were recognised by them as affirming that the intellectual life of people can be radically recon-

> structed and that a proletarian revolution world-wide would create a new human society. [3]

However, this welding of Pavlov to Bolshevik interests occurred in spite of protestations on his own behalf and that of scientific research in general. Nor was Pavlov alone: many bourgeois intellectuals remained outside the party and Lunacharski stalwartly defended their right to do so.[4] Reflexology was taught also at the Communist Academy, but the inferiority of its work to that of Pavlov's Institute was widely acknowledged.[5] In 1921, Lenin himself had signed a decree safeguarding the work and Pavlov personally. In 1922, he asked Lenin if he could take his work abroad, but was refused permission.[6] In September 1923, after a brief foreign tour, he delivered a public lecture criticising Bolshevism as he saw it and, specifically, Bukharin's ABC of Communism. He complained of the likely loss of life consequent on pursuing a programme of world revolution in a world which did not want it; he criticised the idea that "cultural intellectual production" could be assumed by the proletariat and applied to the furtherance of the class war; he criticised the party establishment for its intervention in the appointment and expulsion of university staff and criticised Bolshevism in general for being as prejudicial to the advancement of science as the Orthodox Church had been hitherto under Tsarist protection:

> Science and free criticism, these are synonymous... if you acknowledge that Marxism and communism are not absolute truths, that it is only a theory in which there may be a part of a truth, but in which there is perhaps no truth, then you will look on all life with freedom of view but not with such slavery. [7]

Bukharin took the attack sufficiently seriously to publish a reply. Given the usefulness of Pavlov to the party's agenda and given Bukharin's preference for the superiority of sci-

ence over the arts, its tone is strangely condescending:

> ...even the sun has spots. These spots have the tendency to increase substantially when specialists of natural science begin to deal with things which they- I hope that the author of conditional reflexes will forgive me- simply do not know. [8]

Admittedly, late in life, when Bukharin had long since fallen from grace, Pavlov voiced patriotic support for the Soviet state and it may be that he was by then genuinely persuaded of its cause. It may be that he was thereby expressing gratitude for its benevolence towards his laboratory and research, and for the personal privileges extended to himself and his wife in times of hardship.[9] It may be that he was afraid of losing a guarantee of security. Certainly, Pavlov did not retain into the 1930s the high esteem which he had enjoyed previously. In the late 1940s and 1950s he was unequivocally rehabilitated to the ranks of accepted national worthies and, perversely, inexperienced aspirant scientists were discouraged from freely criticising his principal tenets.[10]

Theories of associative learning based on Pavlov's conditioned reflex (the thesis of stimulus-response) were of immediate service to the Soviet programme of mass education. They were subsequently taken up by Watson and Skinner and a whole generation of psychologists in the United States.[11] The suggestion that learning (as the acquisition of habit) was a mechanical process independent of the prescriptions of inheritance was commensurable with an ideology of egalitarianism and with the internationalist thrust of early '20s Soviet policy. The education programme continued throughout the '20s in apparent disregard of Pavlov's later work in typology which obliged him to admit, ultimately, that some dogs were simply born more intelligent than others.[12] In

addition to the specific utility and convenience of Pavlovian physiology to Bolshevism, in the promotion of a revolutionary movement in society an earlier period of Russian history was invoked. Sechenov, to whom Pavlov refered as "the father of Russian physiology" had been associated (and, like Pavlov, often against his will) with Nihilist subversion and resistance to the metaphysics of Orthodoxy and the Tsarist regime. Daniel P.Todes, in 'From Radicalism to Scientific Convention', suggests that Pavlov's allegiance to Sechenov may even have been over-stated in the official record in order to stress a convenient line of descent.[13] Pavlov and Sechenov were both heralded for their admittance of women to their courses; their laboratories were even idealistically construed as social models of collective endeavour. Many adherents of Pavlov were physicians from clinics concerned to treat illness by the best means possible. When his news-sheet, The Contemporary, was banned from publishing Sechenov's overtly challenging Reflexes of the Brain (1863), Chernishevski supported Sechenov in his campaign to have it published elsewhere. By taking its title as its own, Lenin's strategic pamphlet What is to be Done? (1902) explicitly acknowledged and honoured the Chernishevski novel of 1862, as did articles by Kuleshov dated 1923 and 1930. Sechenov was deemed to be the original for Chernishevski's Dr.Kirsanov and also for the medical student Bazarov in Turgenev's Fathers and Sons:

> "All men are similar, in soul as well as in body.. It is enough to have one human specimen in order to judge all others...We know more or less what causes physical ailments; and moral diseases are caused by the wrong sort of education, by all the rubbish people's heads are stuffed with from childhood onwards, in short by the disordered state of society. Reform society and there will be no diseases". [14]

Not only was physiology socially practicable and progressive (in medicine, in public health, in education) but by citation of historic precedent, its leading players could be rendered as causally linked to perceived political progress also. The fact that physiology had aroused such strong opposition from the old régime disposed towards its facile characterisation as a fundamentally revolutionary force.[15] Mechanics of the Brain demonstrates at considerable length the experiments with frogs for which Sechenov was famous, as the basis for Pavlov's enquiry into higher nervous activity.

Pavlov's personal importance to the Soviet state was further enhanced by his enormous international standing. In 1904, Pavlov had received a Nobel Prize for his work on the digestive system in dogs. Thereafter, his laboratory attracted students from abroad, including Anrep, who was responsible for the 1927 English translation of the Lectures. Pavlovian Psychology came to acquire a status equivalent to that of schools developing contemporaneously from beginnings in France, Austria, Germany and America. Pavlov's scientific eminence and respectability, the exemplary facilities with which the state provided him and his colleagues, lent kudos (however spurious) to the Soviet claim to be a modernising, science-led society. George Bernard Shaw supposed Pavlov guilty of cruelty to his dogs and consequently disapproved of the edification of his research, dubbing him "the Pontifex Maximus in the biological sciences"* Pavlov, on the

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*Pavlov commented thus with regard to the detrimental effects of extirpation, by which Gantt says, he was brought almost to despair: "...the scar acts as a new stimulus...depression sets in...then appears a convulsive attack...After the convulsion you cannot recognise your dog as the same one you had before; it is much more upset now than immediately after the operation...the affair lasts for months and years."

other hand, advocated his techniques as less invasive than vivisectional methods which had prevailed hitherto and claimed that the majority of dogs recovered well.[16] On his death, said Shaw, Pavlov received eulogies "which would have been excessive if he had been all the gods and their prophets and all discoverers and philosophers thrown in".[17] While the Soviet state was conscious of its inferiority and woeful impoverishment in so many other areas, in the new science of Physiological Psychology, it could congratulate itself on its excellence. In spite of the revolution, noted J.B.S.Haldane, the conduct of fine science in Russia continued.[18]

Herbert Spencer's Principles of Psychology (1855) was acknowledged by Sechenov to be influential in his own speculations into the activities of reflexes in animal behaviour: Spencer facilely linked biology and socio-cultural evolution. Sechenov equally admired Darwin (both The Origin of Species and The Expression of Emotions in Man and Animals) for establishing grounds for the proposition that behaviour in humans and animals could be commonly rooted and activated by the instinct to survive. For Pavlov too, Darwin was fundamental: "Darwin must be counted as founder and instigator of the contemporary comparative study of higher vital phenomena of animals...the hypothesis of the origin of man from animals gave great impetus to the study of higher phenomena of animal life...".[19] However, Sechenov lacked the experimental techniques necessary to test his theories scientifically. Pavlov took this as his immediate task within the discipline of physiology. He confronted the inherited dualistic anxieties (James' "leaking joints") as far and only as far as science would allow:

> Pavlov viewed philosophy and science as complementary: the goal of philosophy is to unveil the essence of natural phenomena; the goal of science is to understand the functioning of the mechanisms through which nature works. In examining the human brain...science is not concerned with the ontological essence of the "physical" and the "physiological" but with the functions of the cerebral cortex that are related to specific phases of consciousness...Pavlov made no effort to reduce all physical phenomena to physiological actions, even though his interest centred on establishing physiological processes underlying given psychological phenomena. 20

Shaw's criticism of Pavlov for denying "the existence and authority of...any metaphysical factors in life whatsoever, including purpose, intuition, inspiration and all religions and artistic impulses",[21] is an entertaining tease, but, if taken seriously, unfounded and unfair: Pavlov was simply endeavouring to pursue a scientific line of enquiry as far as it could take him. When the hero of Zamiatin's dystopia We is subjected to the Bell (surely intended as a reference to the reflex apparatus) to cure him of his illness- Imagination- he condemns a distortion of Pavlov's work which Pavlov himself would never have defended.[22] However resolutely Pavlov bound himself to the constraints of laboratory practice and resisted the appellation of psychologist he was nonetheless pressed into service. Psychology, seeking to establish its own scientific credentials and to distance itself from introspective psychologising, appropriated his name. At a conference celebrating a century of psychology in 1985, a speaker invoked "Wundt, Pavlov and Freud" as its "great founding triumvirate".[23]

Scientific films had been made before the revolution, in Russia and elsewhere. Frederick A.Talbot's Moving Pictures (1912) refers to films of microbes, flowers, insects

and polyps.[24] Professor Voskresenskii, Pudovkin's assistant on Mechanics of the Brain, says that such films enjoyed enormous popularity with Russian audiences and that, before the revolution, the majority of these films were imported.[25] Similar films, and films about anatomy and public health and hygiene continued to be made and distributed in the '20s. Sovetskii Ekran and Sovetskoe Kino contain reviews of these films and discussion of Mechanics is accompanied by topics of associated interest. These include 'Modern Neuroses', the subject of a subsequent film which Pudovkin was due to make for Mezhrabpom-Rus but unfortunately never realised.[26] Articles under the heading 'How to make an educational film' appear, for instance, in Sovetskoe Kino (1927), including the contribution from Pudovkin, in Art-Ekran (1923) and in Kino i Kul'tura (1929).[27] Elsewhere, it was suggested that cinematography could be employed to render Einstein comprehensible to a wider audience and German scientific films imported into Russia included The Theory of Relativity.[28]

Scientific films for a general audience were part of the wider soviet campaign to educate and inform a massive widespread population, a high percentage of which was illiterate.[29] Before the revolution, cinema-going had been an exclusively urban occupation. At Lunacharski's instigation, the Commissariat of Enlightenment set up specialist film units, Mikhail Romm, for instance, trained with the Children's Film Unit, making films and studying audience reception.[30] A designated studio for documentary films, Kult'-kino, was established in 1924 but its disbanding in 1926 left Mezhrabpom-Rus the major producer in the field.[31]

The Commissariat levied taxes on cinema tickets in order that funds could be re-directed towards the making of educational films, which, together with Mezhrabpom's independent revenues, allowed it to make geographical, topical and scientific documentaries. Under Lenin's cinefication programme such films were carried into the regions, by boat, train and camel, with projectors powered by mobile generators, or were shown in workers' clubs, in schools, hospitals and in factories, as cheaply as possible to make them accessible to all.[32] Sometimes these were shown to the accompaniment of an explanatory lecture. Often the screenings were fraught with practical difficulties: projectors being liable to break down and there being poor knowledge of maintenance; inexperienced projectionists showing films at incorrect speed and films soon becoming damaged by being exhibited on inadequate equipment.[33] In the major commercial cinemas in the larger towns, a programme often billed a documentary film as the first item, followed by a comedy short then the main feature. Such documentary films were generally released at a loss and no more than ten copies were made. Mechanics was unusual for raising a profit.[34]

The title of Pudovkin's 1926 film, Mechanics of the Brain (the behaviour of man and animals), describes the research with which Pavlov was immediately concerned and his particular physiological contribution to psychology. The first reel shows basic reflexes in animals and reproduces Sechenov's experiments with frogs; the second reel shows the formation of conditioned reflexes in dogs and the training of monkeys to respond to alternate colour stimulii;

the third reel shows the effect of damage to various parts of the human brain and the performance of tasks by children at different ages. Given the routine acknowledgement of the influence of Pavlov's theories on Soviet film practice, I find it remarkable that this film has been very largely overlooked. Ian Christie freely admits that, having seen just about everything else made in Russia before and after both revolutions, he has yet to see Mechanics of the Brain.[35] It seems to me that a study of this film is useful as an indication of what was commonly understood of Pavlov's work, as an indication of how the film camera might be employed as an instrument of scientific exposition and as to how Pudovkin constructed and construed a logical scenario adequate to this task.

Moussinac mentions it in passing in Le Cinéma Soviétique (1927) as exemplary of its kind and Bryher's Film Problems of Soviet Russia (1929) provides a fuller description of its content.[36] Leyda's Kino (first edition 1960) adds a brief commentary on the difficulties surrounding its production. John Maddison,in his contribution to Manvell's Experiment in the Film (1949), regrets that few Soviet science films reach western audiences, but finds Mechanics of the Brain still worthy of attention.[37] Catherine de la Roche (1948) cites a sound film made by Bazykin, The Physiology and Pathology of Nervous Activity, which at least stands witness to a continuing interest in familiarising an audience with Pavlov's work, but nothing is said of its predecessor. The cursory reference in Peter Dart's monograph, Pudovkin's Films and Film Theory (1974), and his unsubstantiated claim that it "must be regarded as the best scientif-

ic film of the silent period" is, I suspect, lifted directly from Mariamov, as is much else.[38] Mariamov in turn quotes the 1937 appraisal by Iezuitov, but conveys little sense of experiencing the film first-hand: "In the work on this film Pudovkin could satisfy his enthusiasm and partiality for philosophical analysis: with the aid of his scientific understanding he could reach the very core of his subject".[39] Paul Rotha claims, possibly extravagantly, that the "key to Pudovkin's direction lay plainly in Mechanics of the Brain, for it gave an exposition of the methods which he employs for the selection of his visual images, based on an understanding of the working of the human mind".[40] Anatoli Golovnia is unforthcoming in his La luce nell'arte dell' operatore (1951), but refers to Mechanics of the Brain in his interview with Jean and Luda Schnitzer as the film with which his long-standing partnership with Pudovkin was initiated.[41] At the time, he wrote with understandable exasperation about the technical problems of working with children and animals, and suggested that in future such work be undertaken by specialist personnel; little wonder that the opportunity to film Chess Fever, in the midst of these difficulties, was welcomed with glad relief:

> The film was composed from such models as mad men, idiots, paralytics, a woman in childbirth, new-born infants and not new-born...ordinary dogs and dogs without a brain; dissected frogs and undissected frogs, monkeys, lions, bears,eagles, cows, horses, hippopotami, crocodiles. And all this entire ensemble turns around, fidgets, runs off or separates out, seizes our operator or grasps onto the camera. 42

To these problems can be added, say Golovnia and Pudovkin, the aggravations of lighting and filming in small spaces with multiple camera positions, the time taken to move from one position to another.[43]

Like Mother, End of St.Petersburg and Storm over Asia, Mechanics of the Brain was refused a licence for public screening on release in Britain:[44] the British Board of Film Censors "does not license films in a language it does not understand", Ivor Montagu was curtly informed.[45] However, it was shown privately to the Film Society and to a meeting in March 1929 of the Neurological Section of the Royal Society of Medicine, for which Montagu prepared English subtitles. Unfortunately, the minutes do not record any opinion of the film.[46] Winifred Ellerman (Bryher), committed and gratefully acknowledged supporter of the Soviet film in Britain, extolled the didactic potential of Mechanics of the Brain: "Surely this could be admitted as a scientific film free of duty, for in the world of research and medicine at least there ought to be no barriers".[47] Other members of the Film Society found it thoroughly objectionable. Montagu does not relate whether complaints were prompted by the pictorial content (mentally retarded and syphilitic patients; a woman in childbirth) or by the ideological thrust of the titles ("All life, all culture is wholly made up of reflexes..."; "The study of conditioned reflexes serves as the basis of materialist understanding of the behaviour of animals and man"). A screening intended for the London Workers' Society consequently necessitated drastic cuts.[48]

I have yet to find any mention of the film in a biography of Pavlov ( Cuny, Gray, Joravsky, Vucinich) not even those written by erstwhile students of Pavlov in the Leningrad laboratory in which the film was made (Babkin, Frolov).[49] Pavlov himself, writing in the 1930s of his

studies of sleep, recognises the usefulness of film to clinical science, but says nothing of his earlier collaboration with Pudovkin:

> It is a pity that cinematography appeared too late and could not be utilised by us and our physiological laboratories. Had it been as accessible then as it is now, all these phenomena could have been very easily comprehended. We could now demonstrate them to you in the space of fifteen minutes and you would leave us with the deep conviction that inhibition and sleep are one and the same process. But while inhibition is a concentrated process, hypnosis and sleep represent an inhibition which spreads over more or less vast areas. 50

Contradictory reports are to be found in other sources of Pavlov's reaction to the film. Luda and Jean Schnitzer say that he approved the result,[51] whereas Jay Leyda says that he resisted the idea from the outset and draws a comparison with Freud's opposition to Pabst's stylised drama, Secrets of a Soul (1926).[52] Mariamov and Fefer (regular contributor to Sovetskii Ekran and Sovetskoe Kino on matters scientific) say that Pavlov took no part in the filming and that the original scenario was volunteered to Mezhrabpom-Rus, unsolicited, by Voskresenskii (himself a follower of Pavlov).[53] Pudovkin says that Pavlov, ever cautious, was originally reluctant to co-operate, fearful that popularisation was tantamount to "vulgarisation", but that he was eventually reconciled to the project.[54] Pavlov did not care for anything likely to disrupt the work of his laboratory or his account thereof.*

.....

*There is in the Russian Museum in St.Petersburg a portrait of Academician Pavlov which shows him reading- I suspect that this is more than just an attributive device and that Pavlov was genuinely unwilling to spend time sitting, unless using time constructively!

In the preface to the first Russian edition of the Lectures, he records laconically a major interruption to which they were subject:

> Five years ago, when I was confined to my bed for several months on account of a serious fracture of the leg, I prepared a general review of all our investigations. Then the Revolution began. This, of course, distracted my attention....Thus it happened that what I had prepared was never printed. 55

Pudovkin's task on Mechanics of the Brain was rendered yet more difficult by the fact that in 1925-26 many of Pavlov's discoveries in conditioned and unconditioned reflexes were yet to be published and that he was therefore obliged to work from a collection of notes and addresses, sometimes incoherent or contradictory. From this experience, Pudovkin concludes, those engaged in the making of scientific films needs must be competent scientists themselves and not simply technicians. He praises the work of his assistants on Mechanics.[56] More broadly, although physiology had been enormously fashionable in literary circles from the nineteenth century onwards, it also seems worth noting the absence of a tradition popularising eminent work in the field and the absence, perhaps, of a readership for such a genre: certainly there was nothing of the type already familiar in America (William James had published his abridged edition of Psychology in 1892).[57]

What I have gleaned of Pavlov's methods and principles elsewhere endorses Pudovkin's representaticn of the reserve with which Pavlov met Mechanics of the Brain. It leads one to suspect that Pavlov would be at least sceptical and more likely downright hostile to the translation of his work to a medium with which he was not familiar and was disposed to

consider with distaste. It could well be that Pavlov, the strict and particular physiologist, then regarded film in general as a trivialising medium, inappropriate to serious enquiry. Pavlov was wont to change his mind (and his theories) as new evidence presented itself in experiments: for instance, in the documented disputes with Bekhterev and in his drastic amendment of the hypothetical Hippocratic model originally adopted for his work in typology.[58] Pavlov chose to publish the Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes unrevised, close to the form in which they had been delivered, in order that the methodical working through of a problem could remain apparent:

> As a result of continued experimentation some of the deductions and interpretations...had to be considerably modified. However...I intentionally allowed the chapters to remain as they left my hands...incorporating in the later lectures the new material...In this manner the reader is placed in a position to obtain a much clearer idea of the natural growth of the subject.[59]

The fixing of experiments on film, especially experiments as yet unpublished in more orthodox form, could be construed as presenting as conclusive and irrevocable theory that which in actuality was no more than work in progress. "Pavlov was critical of results obtained in the laboratory and of theories that might be forwarded regarding them", says Babkin; "a theory was good if it could connect facts for six months at least".[60] "It was...my habit", says Pavlov himself, "to lay aside a written article in order to forget it, so that when I re-read it I could the better note its shortcomings".[61]

Pavlov was always (as was Freud) keen to stress his concern with the normal functioning of the brain, albeit under laboratory conditions, and took care to eliminate ex-

ternal variables which might disrupt the constancy of the controlled model set-up: even a flake of plaster falling from the ceiling or a fly in the room could distract a dog's attention. Pavlov's laboratory (the Tower of Silence) was constructed with a straw-filled moat surrounding it, sand-pugged floors and thick windows to insulate against the irregularity of external noise levels.[62] Pudovkin and Golovnia found that their presence affected the conduct of the experiments, and for the experiments in the paediatric laboratory of Professor Krasnogorskii they took the precaution of building a hide. Shots remain in the final cut in which the child subjects look out to camera.(ill.3.ii)

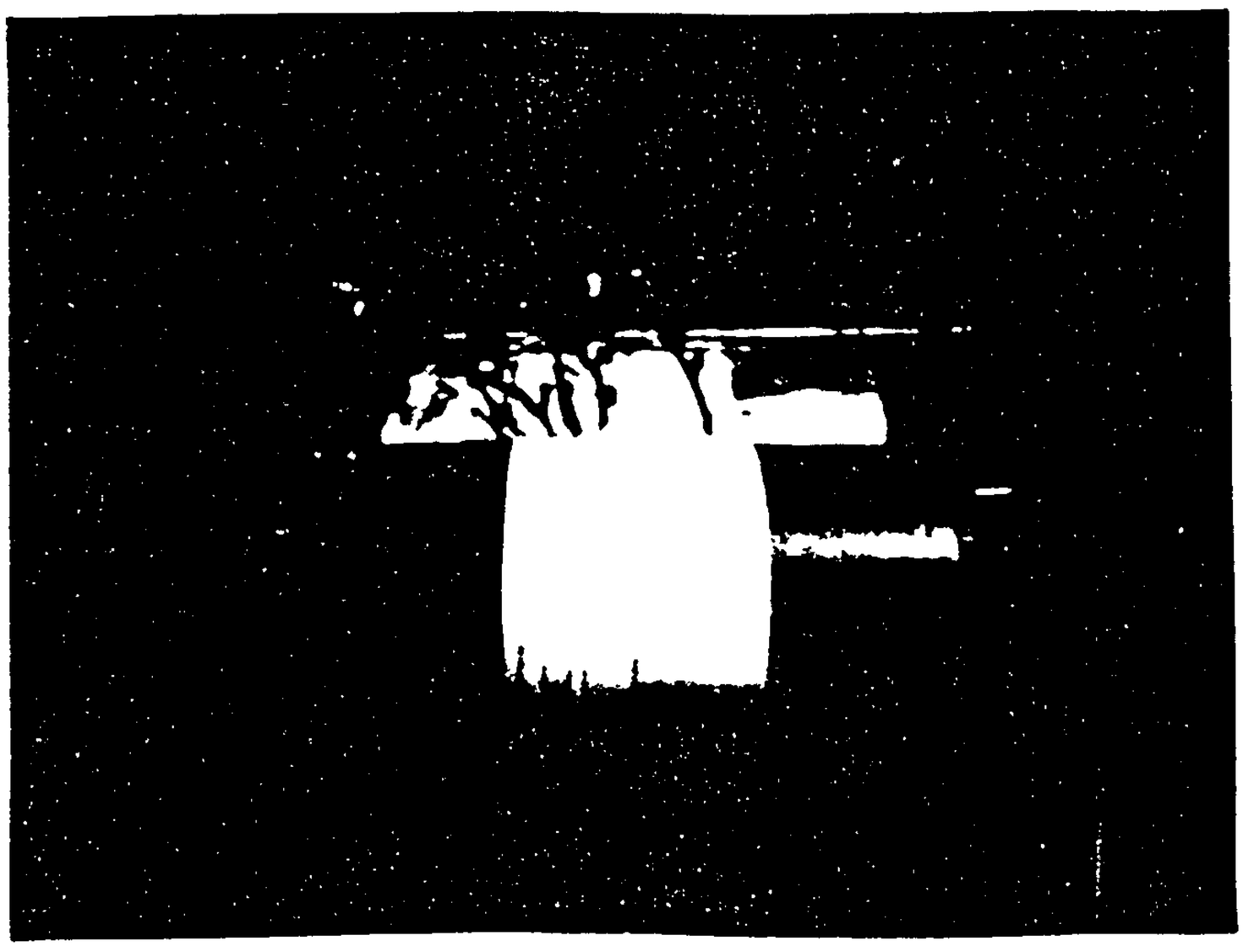
Pudovkin, although filming actual experiments in the laboratory with dogs and monkeys, also contrived material which would serve to illustrate Pavlov's thesis as he understood it, "the general underlying principle" in accord with which all the material was organised. The performance of the sea-lion in Mechanics of the Brain was, by Pudovkin's own account, not at all left to its own devices:

> One cannot command a beast to swim in a desired direction or to approach a camera; but at the same time its movement was exactly prescribed in the editing plan with which the construction of the whole picture was bound-up....For the close-up the bait was thrown again and again until the sea-lion leaped onto the right place on the bank and made the necessary turn. Out of thirty takes made, three were chosen and these gave on the screen the desired image of continuous movement. This movement was not organised by direct prescription of the work required but attained by approximate control of advantitious elements and subsequent strict selection of the material gathered. 63

Iezuitov and Professor Voskresenskii say that in general there is a danger in incorporating staged material in science films, as this may provoke incredulity in an aud-

3.i.a.

3.i.b.



3.i.c.

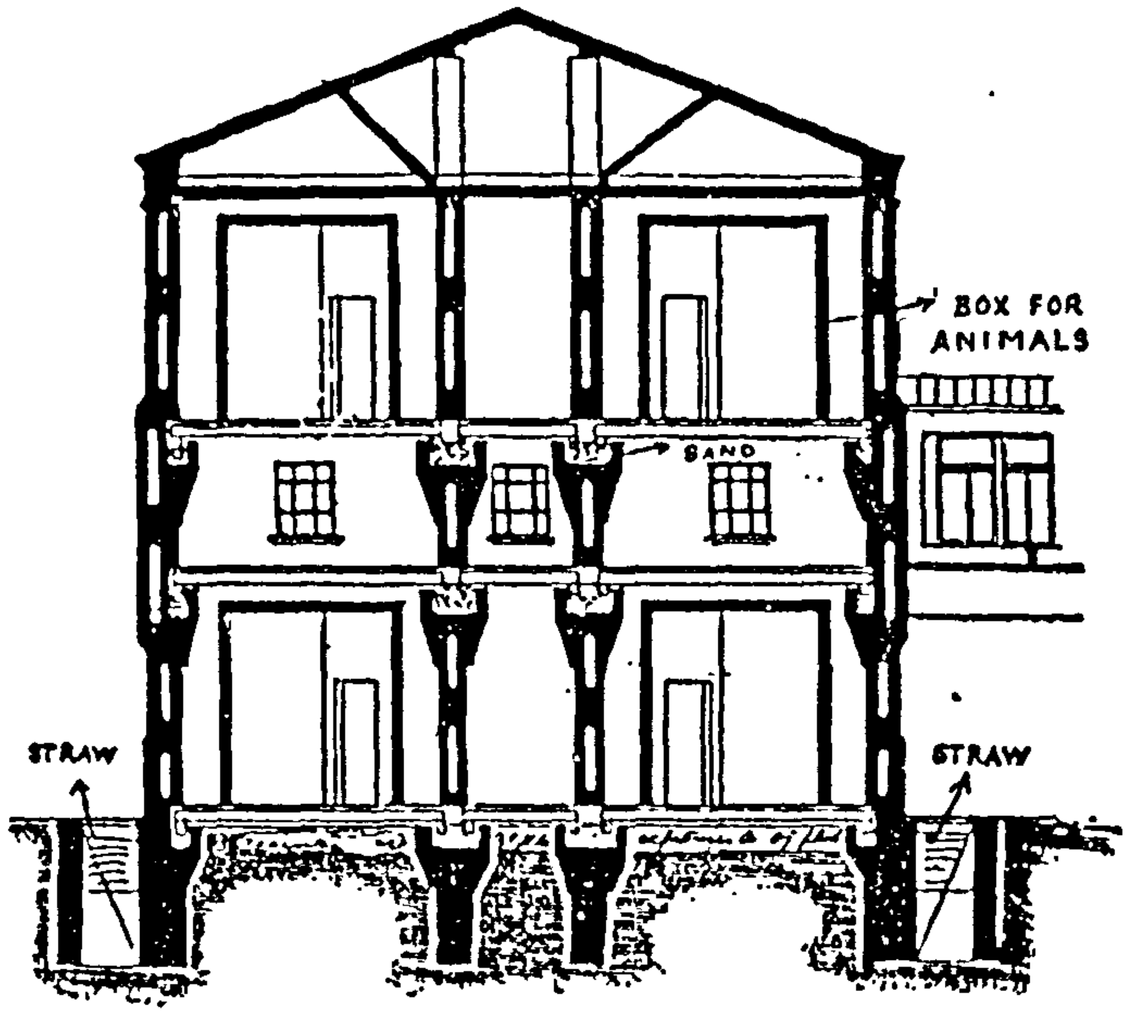



FIG. 5

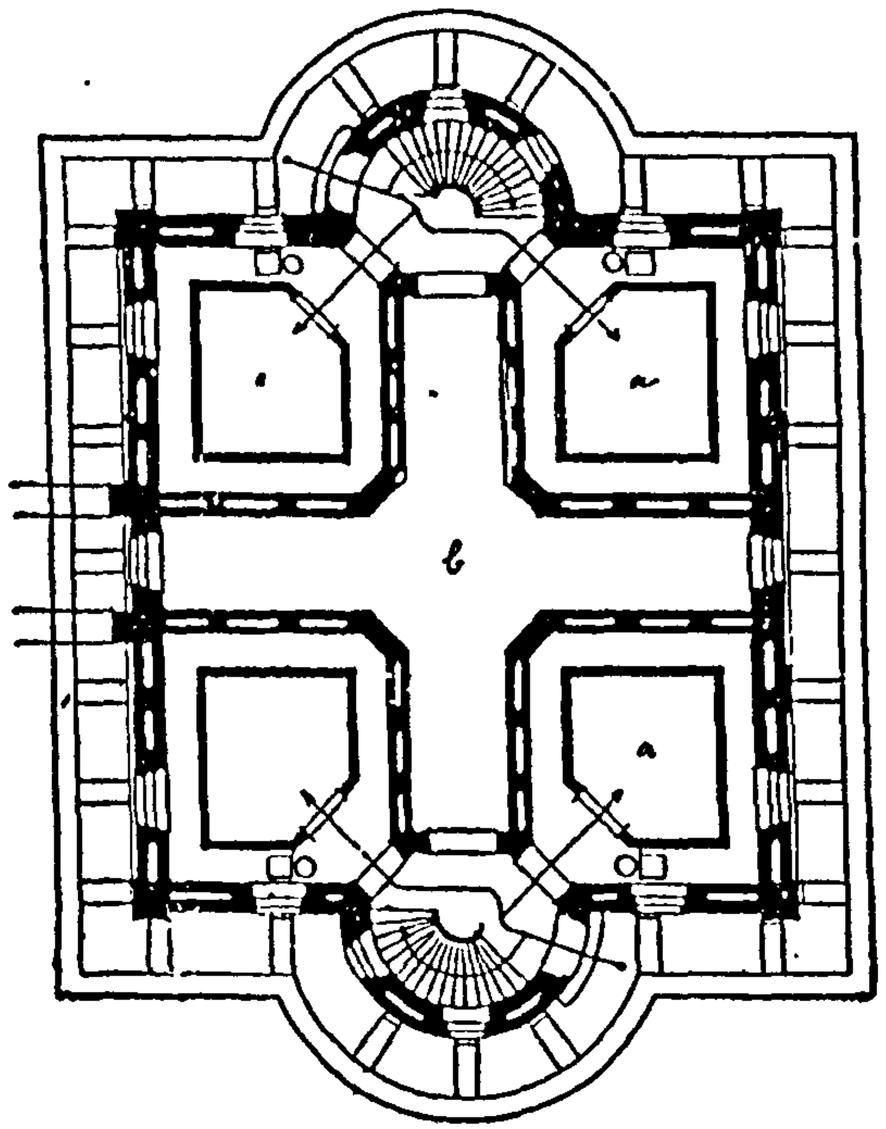



FIG. 6

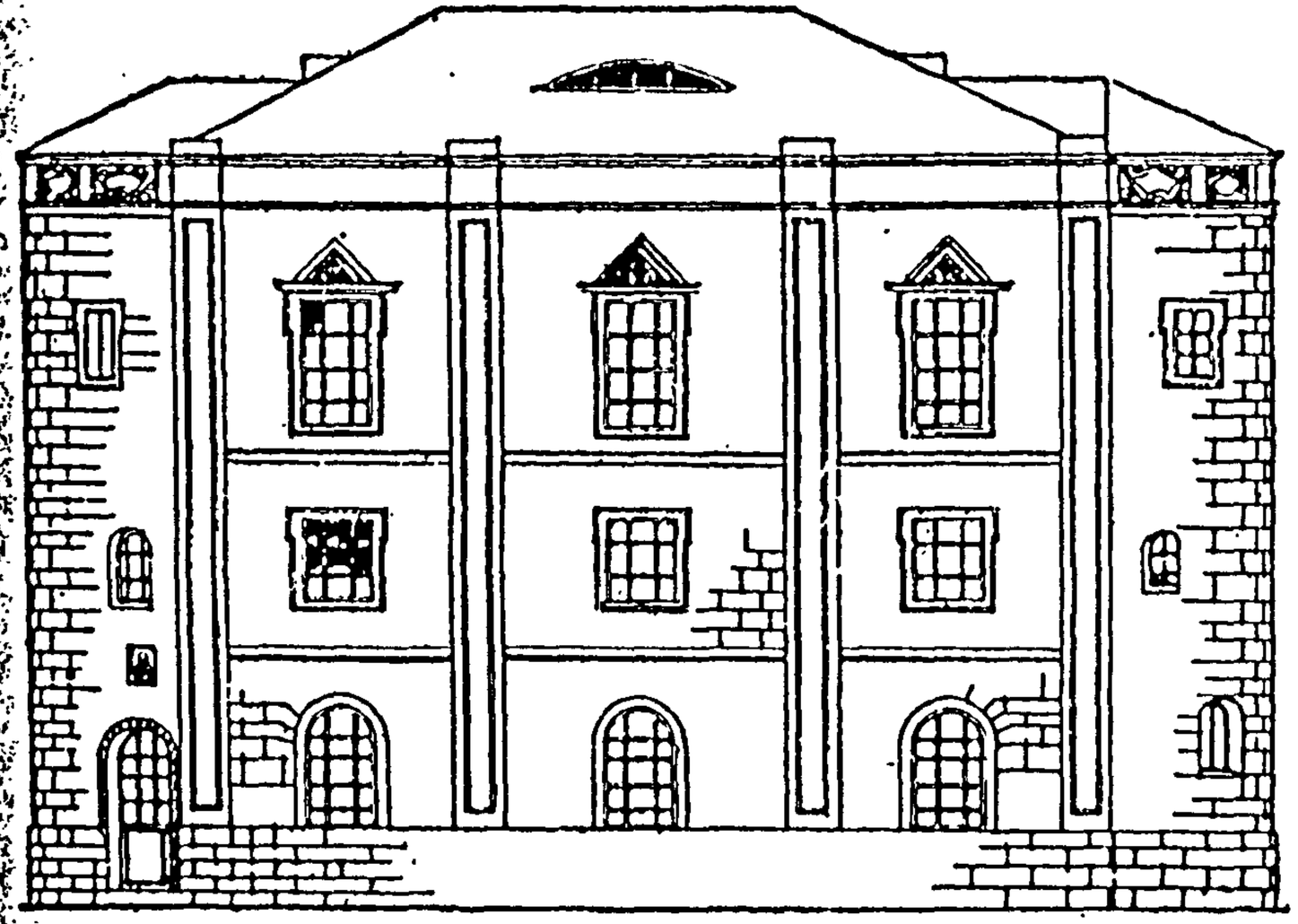


FIG. 4

ience which may extend to any experimental record with which it is associated.[64]

Another reason for Pavlov's resistance to the initial proposal to present his work may have been the association intended between the bases of nervous activity and behaviour in animals, and developmental psychology in humans. In the opening reel of the film an orangoutang and a one year old infant are shown making use of implements (a basic task which the syphilitic patient, shown in the third reel, as a consequence of progressive cerebral paralysis, can no longer perform). The mentally retarded subject is said to have a brain no more developed than that of a fish. Later, children are shown performing more complicated tasks (washing, building with bricks), then solving practical problems (a quoit hung on a wall cannot be reached by a group of children nor can it be reached from a table on which a child stands tiptoe holding up a long stick; thereupon the children decide to put a chair on the table and by standing on the chair the quoit is fetched down). Seemingly, Pavlov was satisfied that such parallels were thus far sound. (ill.3.vii.c)

Pavlov chose the dog as the main subject for experiment because he found it generally amenable; but he also declared the dog a useful insight into the behaviour of man, as a result of their historic and environmental interdependence.[65] It is left to Mikhail Bulgakov, in The Heart of a Dog (1925), to draw the absurdly logical conclusion that man and dog are potentially anatomically interchangeable also.[66] Pavlov tacitly cast his work in an evolutionist mould, but was cautious as to undue extrapolation from his

results and, conversely, notoriously censorious of "anthropomorphic" terminology applied to animals in laboratory conditions, exacting fines from defaulting students.[67] While George Bernard Shaw (amidst much carping at Pavlov's expense) complains of the extra-vernacular character of his language, better informed commentators identify "the refinement of methodology and scientific nomenclature" as a distinct contribution. "In a deliberate effort to avoid psychological terminology, Pavlov tied original labels to the concepts that he developed to organise the data obtained from his research".[68] Outside of the laboratory, Pavlov sometimes indulged himself in what Joravsky and Vucinich term "holistic" lapses, especially when enthusiastically proclaiming the future potential of physiology to address the world's ills:

> ...now I am deeply and irrevocably convinced that along this path...will be found the final triumph of the human mind over its uttermost and supreme problem: the knowledge of the laws and mechanism of human nature...Only science, exact science about human nature itself and the most sincere approach to it by aid of omnipotent scientific method will deliver man from his present gloom and will purge him of his contemporary shame in the sphere of interhuman relations [69]

Pavlov provocatively hypothesised that even language was no more than a secondary function of higher nervous activity. Bekhterev admonished Pavlov for this tendency to make grandiose prognostications which "exact science" was hard pressed to warrant:

> Now the question is: do the reduction of the most complex biological activities to such a simple scheme and the supporting of this position by expatiating on why, exactly, we Russians have, under the influence of centuries of slavery, lost our volitional busyness, while the Anglo-Saxons, in contrast, have for a long period freely developed their "aim reflex"- do these afford a solution of the problem in the sense of explaining the given biological Phenomenon? It is scarcely necessary to point out that very little is gained in this way

> and that the adversaries of the objective method in its application to the investigation of human personality are given a weapon. 70

However, inside Pavlov's Tower of Silence the laboratory imposed a very precise and strict discipline. Indeed, Pavlov's personal disaffection for popular journals and for the academic conference circuit, his reluctance to engage his scientific practice in a broader cultural context and the preservation of its untainted exclusivity, may have sanctified yet further its credentials as objective authority.[71]

Bekhterev swathed his work in a vast array of philosophical and cultural reference, seemingly subsequently formulating experiments to substantiate the particular position which he had already elected to adopt. Bekhterev's General Principles of Human Reflexology (1923) quotes from Wundt, Freud, Bergson, Münsterberg, du Bois Raymond, Christiansen's Philosophie der Kunst, the philologist Potebnia et.al.; most often it quotes Bekhterev himself.[72] Pavlov confines himself to the citation of other scientists, only where there are specific points of concordance or disagreement: for instance, he acknowledges that Thorndike's experiments in comparative physiology preceded his own by some two or three years but effectively arrived at similar conclusions;[73] he criticises Kretschmer's Physik und Charakter (1921) for failing to distinguish between type and character and for reducing all mankind to two clinical pathological types (see chapter four, below);[74] his numerous objections to Gestalt psychology include its lack of grounding in physiology (it has neglected, he says, to acquaint itself thoroughly with Helmholtz), its rejecting of analysis and the notion of associationism and in turn of

the study of behaviour in terms of stimulus-response units, "not that it dislikes brain mechanics or dynamics; but it believes the brain to work in large patterns, by 'closing gaps'...rather than by the operation of nerve paths linking this and that little centre in the brain".[75] Bekhterev and Pavlov seem to characterise nicely Karl Popper's distinction between models of deductive and inductive science, with Pavlov laboriously building theory from an accumulation of empirical evidence gathered over considerable time and from a great number of individual examples (see chapter one, above). Popper draws the distinction in order to cast doubt on the presumed epistemological status of inductive science and to suggest that, in practice, an absolute distinction may not hold fast- but of more immediate concern, it seems to me, is that Pavlov's scientific methodology and Pavlov himself were recognised as highly serviceable to Soviet purposes.[76]

Whereas William James, simultaneously attempting to build a psychology on the foundations of natural science, openly confesses that "here may be no science, only hope of a science", "metaphysical questions leak through at every joint", Pavlov appears not to trouble to plug the joints but rather to deny the pertinence of the questions. Shaw was not alone in assuming that Pavlov had succeeded in eliminating the notion of "Soul"; Pavlov himself, in reply to such suggestions, pronounced that declarations of its final demise were somewhat premature.* Certain extreme factions

.....

*Meierkhold wrote to Pavlov on the occasion of his 80th. birthday: "We congratulate you as the man who has at last dispensed with such a disreputable thing as the soul" and was duly informed "As far as the soul is concerned, we must wait a little while". Picon-Vallin, Vsevolod Meierhold III p.148 qu.Sovetskoe iskusstvo 20th.Dec.1933
(I am grateful to Prof.Braun for drawing this to my attention)

of the party were equally eager to leap to this same conclusion:

> Our understanding of the process of cognition does not in the least coincide with the meaning that has been given to these words in all doctrines, except the theory of new biology: for us the words knowledge and cognition signify only physiological reactions without any participation of a psyche i.e. without any participation of non-spatial phenomena. 77

Pudovkin, in his 1925 article in ARK zhurnal 'Montage in the science film', makes a crucial distinction between the procedures involved in recording experiments, usually intended for a professional scientific audience, and films made for popular consumption. To film a scientific experiment, he says, is to record not only an object but also a dynamic process. But only for the professional audience can this be translated without intervention, in a single unbroken sequence.[78] The former films often require specialist equipment and installations, he says, but says that such films are already being produced in Germany. In such films the camera performs an "investigative role".

The camera had, since its invention, served as an item of scientific apparatus and its photographic products had been appreciated as evidence objectively verifying scientific facts. Lisa Cartwright notes Lumière's "near-lifelong commitment to medical biology, pharmacology and experimental physiology".[79] Muybridge and Marey both published their photographic analyses of movement in the 1870's. Darwin's The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals (1872) reproduces photographs made by

Duchenne and uses engravings made from photographs, presumably to show the location of muscles with greater precision. Darwin praises Duchenne for his care and attention.[80] However, the photographic image is here a record of the procedure by which the supposedly typical representation of that emotion was arrived at, rather than a genuine record of emotion spontaneously expressed. The genuineness of the expression (as it relates to a particular emotional state) appears to be taken as given, although no such emotion was experienced at the time the photograph was taken. In Voskresenskii's terms, these photographs are staged. Amidst the enthusiasm for the new technique the distinction as to what exactly photography is being employed to corroborate seems to me to be important and relevant to the use of the film Mechanics of the Brain as a record of Pavlov's experiments. The possibility might be suggested that the medium was itself selected to lend additional scientific authority to the material recorded. The notion of Cinema Truth volunteered by Vertov (see chapter one, above) seems pertinent; but, in practice, Pudovkin finds Vertov's directives inadequate to his purpose of constructing a coherent exposition and explanation of Pavlov's work. Pudovkin says that "specifically filmic means" must be found through which to effect the film-maker's understanding of his subject but that "the method of Cinema-Truth was rejected" in favour of "film art's own specific procedure for interpretation: montage".[81]

The scientific film should not, says Pudovkin, rely on written material interposed between shots (as was current practice), nor on a spoken commentary for its intell-

igibility. The intertitles in Mechanics of the Brain are well spaced apart, usually short and single frame (with the exception of a longer running quotation from Pavlov), written in bold white type on black, frequently with especially significant words isolated and or underlined or enlarged ("unconditioned and conditioned reflexes serve as the basis of behaviour not only of animals but also of mankind").(ill.3.iii.c) Sometimes an image or sequence is repeated either side of the relevant written text in order to reiterate the conclusiveness of the demonstration (for instance, in reel one, when the elephant takes food in his trunk from the hand of his keeper and smartly deposits it in his mouth, the sequence is subsequently broken down into the move hand to trunk, then the intertitle, "conditioned behaviour in animals is realised by the evolution of the higher regions of the brain", then the move trunk to mouth). Some recognisably similar images or titles are repeated in different instances in order to amplify the general content: the same shot of a one year old infant is used alongside the orang-outang and the syphilitic. "The scientific film requires a strong idea around which to organise its material", says Pudovkin, "equivalent to the plot in a feature film".[82] Frequently there are shots of the mechanical apparatus used to record the results of the experiments, as though them thereby to endorse: white-coated lab. technicians in their observation chamber; needles jigging along rotating drums of graph paper; a metronome ticking as the monkey negotiates a puzzle; a pressure gauge strapped to the arm of a feeding child.(ill.3.i.b,c)

Titles are used also to end sections decisively and

БЕЗУСЛОВНЫЕ РЕФЛЕНСЫ
ВРОЖДЕННЫ.

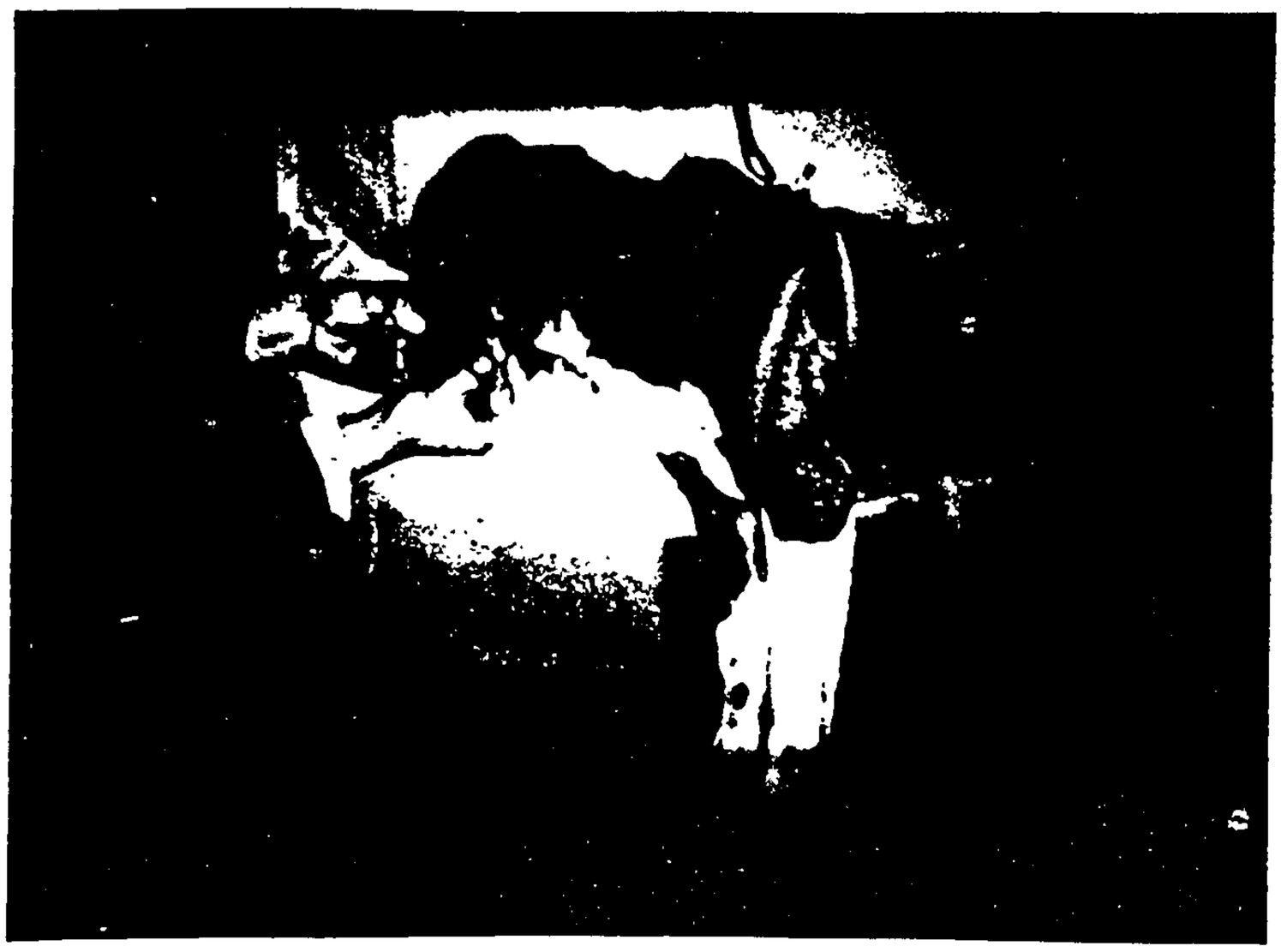
3.iii.a.

Что такое
УСЛОВНЫЙ РЕФЛЕКС?

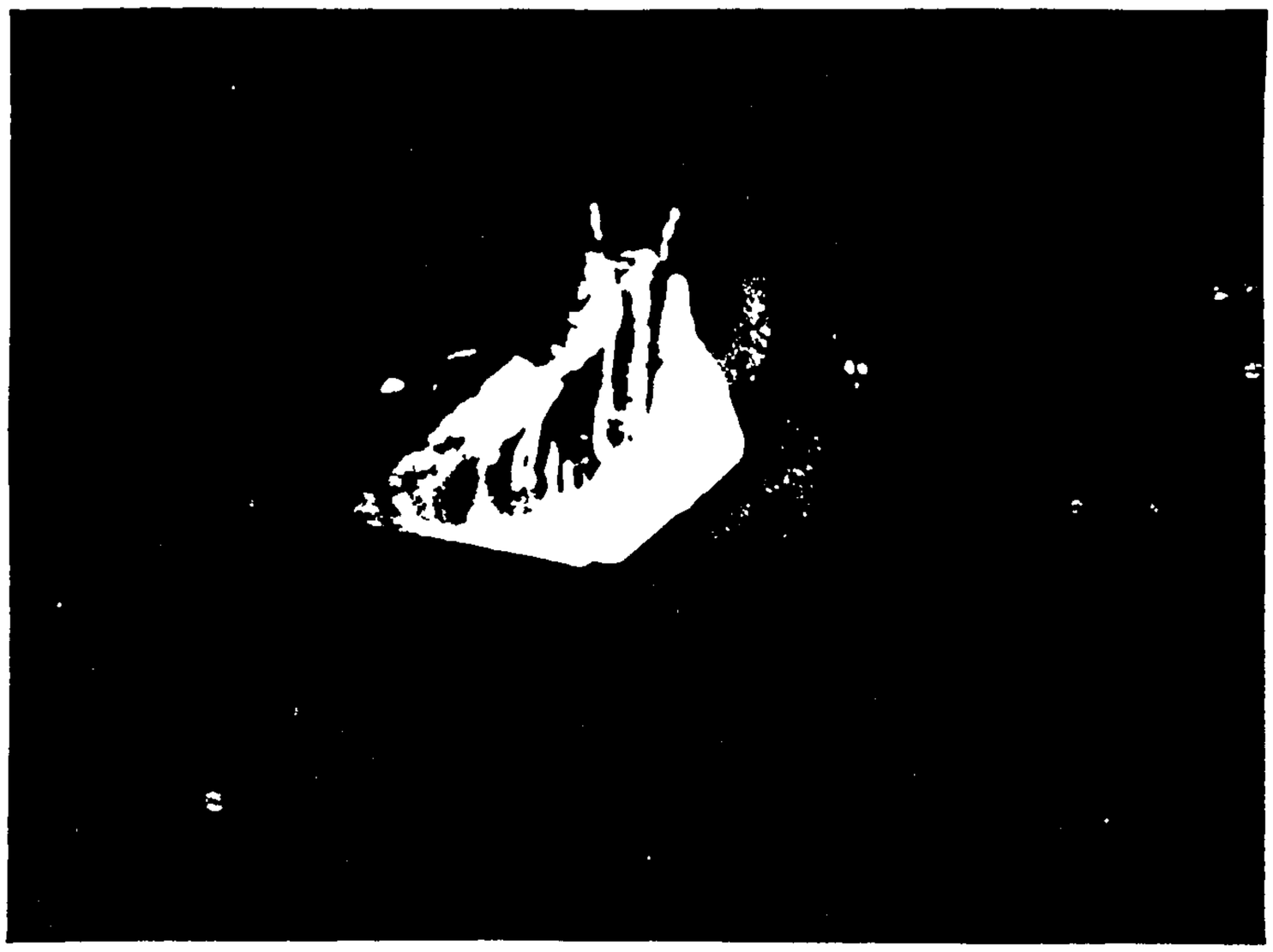
3.iii.b.

Безусловные и условные
рефлексы служат
ОСНОВОЙ поведения
не только животного,
но и
ЧЕЛОВЕКА.

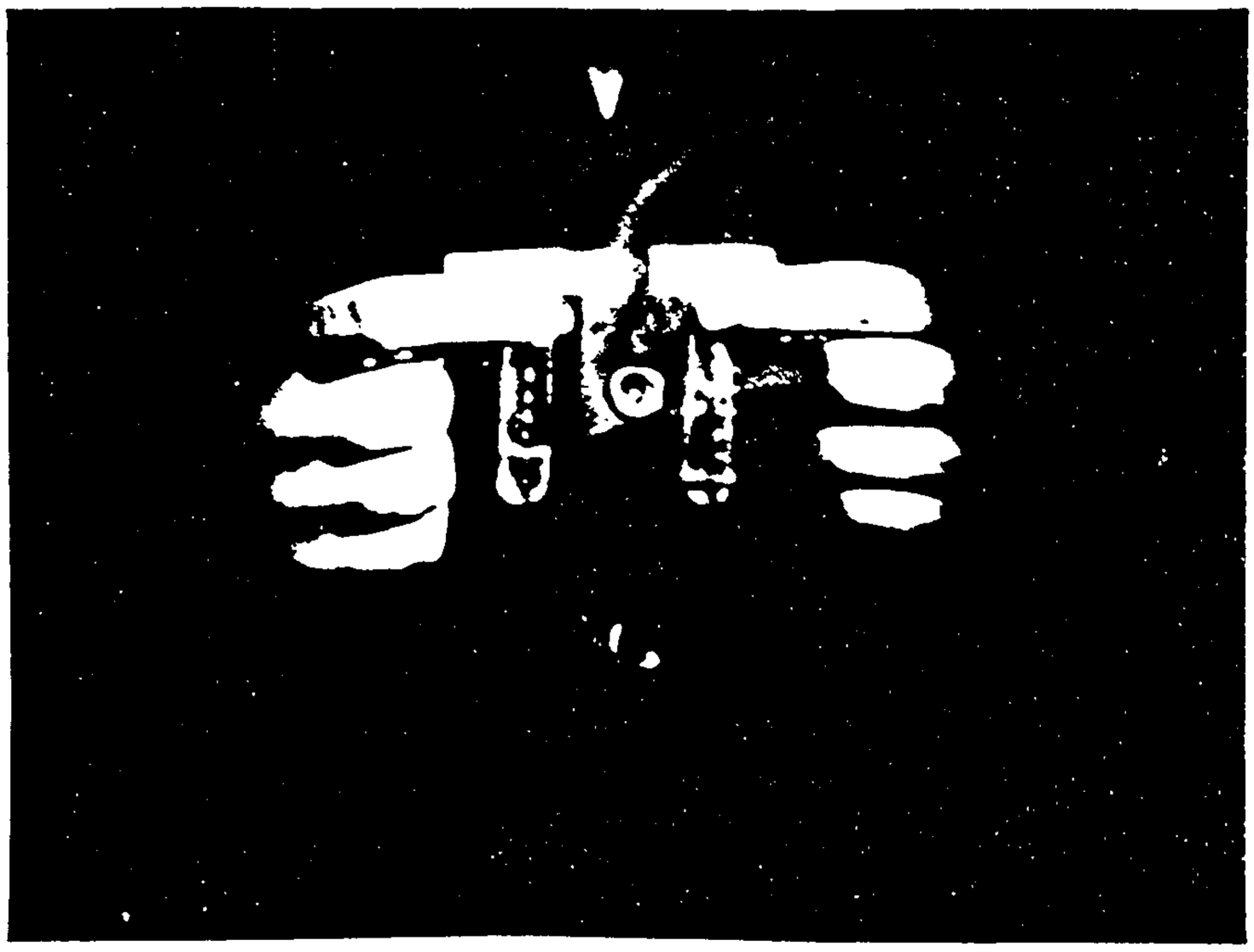
3.iii.c.



3.iv.a.



3.iv.b.



3.iv.c.

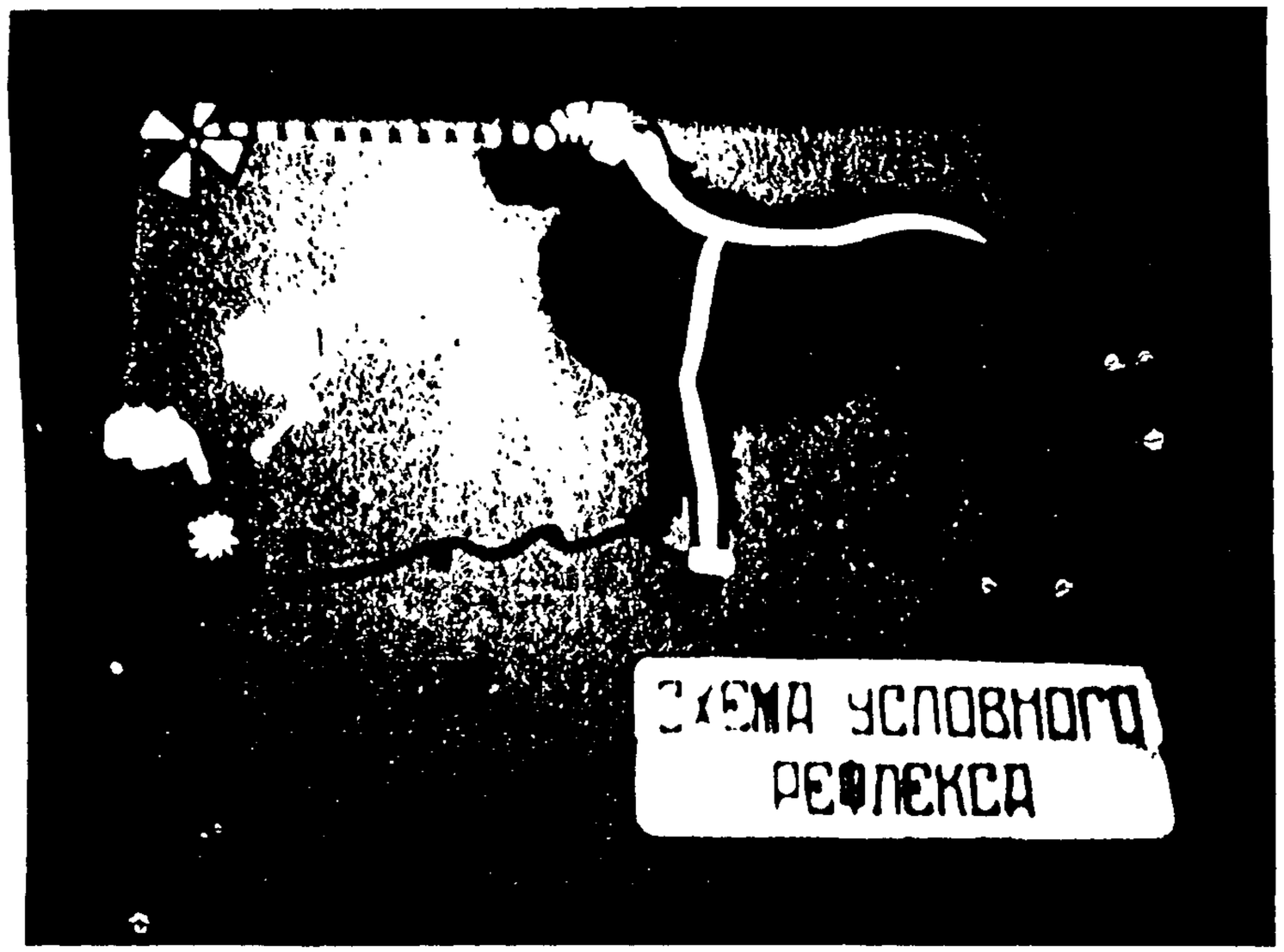
to extend continuity over the interruption between reels: "unconditioned reflexes are innate" (ends reel one); "what is a conditioned reflex? it's simply demonstrated in the digestion of animals" (begins reel two).(ill.3. iii.a,b) Continuity is established between parts of an experiment taken (or staged) as separate shots by maintaining direction of movement, simulating an impression of itself as an unruptured demonstrative and integral whole: an assistant moves in mid-shot camera right to left to remove a phial attached to the cheek of a dog, which has just been fed, harnessed in the stand; the shot is followed by a close-up in which a hand (similarly jacketed) moves camera right to centre to display the contents of the phial. Two similar phials are displayed, the assistant holding them against his dark jacket as background, to compare the quantities of saliva collected from (supposedly) two separate experiments: on the left, the greater quantity of saliva collected from the response to sugar and, camera right, in response to bread.(3.iv.a,b,c; reel one)

Secretion was in no way essential to the study of reflexes as a whole but had been selected because it offered scope for the consistent verification of the commonest of conditioned reflexes and precise quantitative and qualitative evaluation of stimuli employed.[83] Mariamov and Iezuitov relate that Pudovkin and his assistants from Kuleshov's workshop found the salivation of the dogs an insufficiently photogenic subject and consequently sought to elicit motor reactions also. This was a procedure favoured by Bekhterev and only occasionally adopted by Pavlov. Animated diagrams, depicting the formation of a conditioned

motor reflex, were prepared for Mechanics of the Brain as the second venture of a specialist department of Mezhrabpom-Rus.[84] (ill.3.v; reel two) These were also used by Pudovkin to elucidate the chain of activity and irritation in the leg of a frog and of particular centres of the brain. (ill.3.vi.b) Other diagrams were used to show which areas of the brain in man governed speech, vision and motor activity. (ill.3.vi.a) "The location of the centres in man is similar to their location in higher animals"; after operations, "in the case of 'Clubs' all of the left cerebral hemisphere is removed", "in the case of 'Jamaica' the centre of vision is removed", and co-ordination is lost. An intact dog is shown swiftly negotiating an obstacle course built with chairs.

"The lens of the camera is the eye of the spectator", says Pudovkin, but again he distances himself from the claim of the 'kinoki' that material can be simply "seized from life":[85]

> It is generally known that the essence of proper montage consists in correctly connecting the attention of the spectator. If I photograph a thing whole, then the spectator will perceive that thing in its entirety, whereas the closer I approach it with the camera, the more the spectator will grasp only selected details. This applies both to the filming of a static object and to the filming of a dynamic process. An observer following a demonstration guides his attention sometimes here, sometimes there, then he pursues some detail, then he occupies himself with the whole. As a result of which the attentive observer secures a clearly delineated impression of the thing. He will endeavour not to disregard any particular characteristic point whatever, nor will he lose sight of them whilst concentrating on the principal features...It depends on the director whether the spectator becomes a good or a bad observer. It is clear that the shifting here and there of concentration - corresponding to montage- is a strictly regular process. Such laws of observation, which are re-

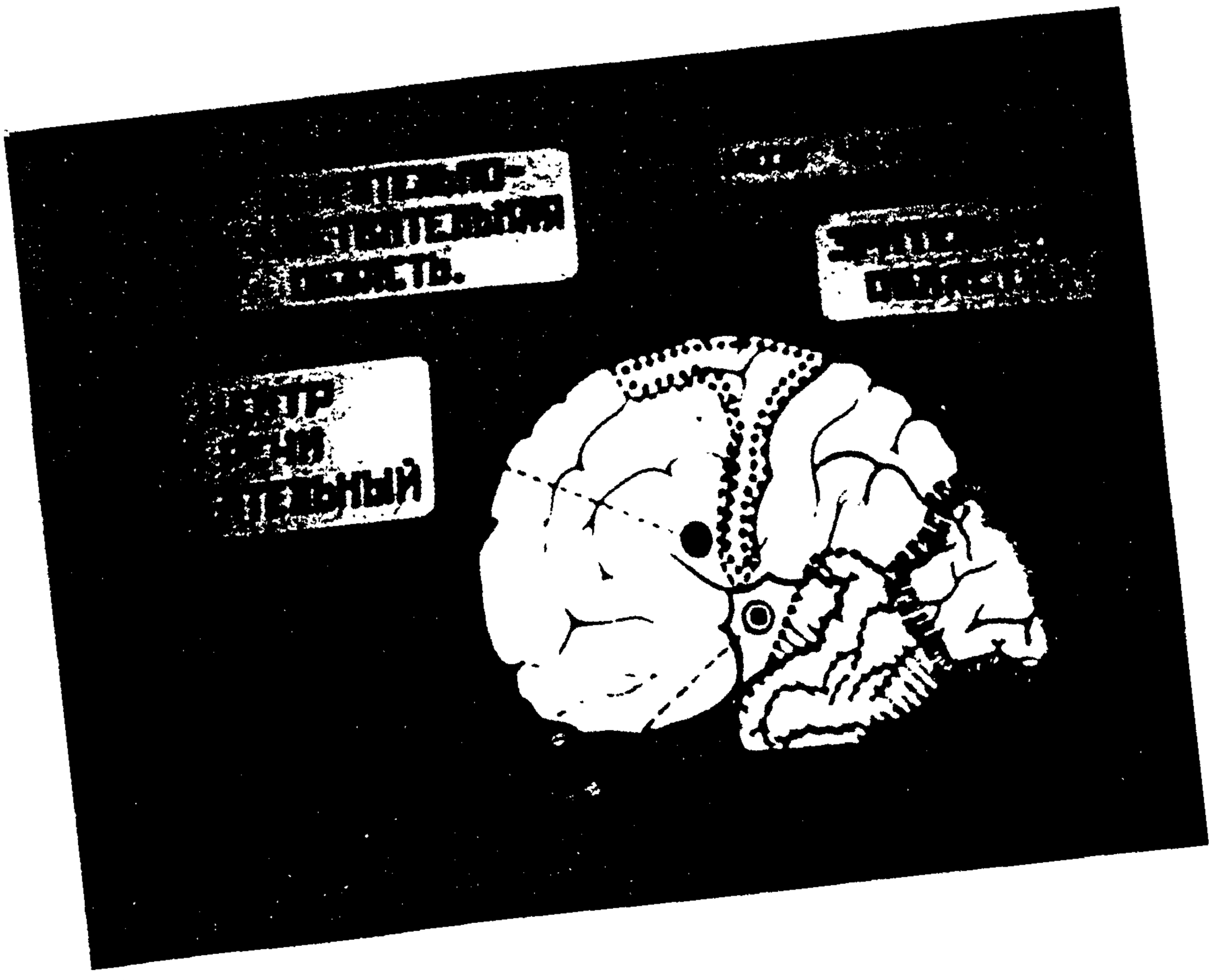



3.v.a.

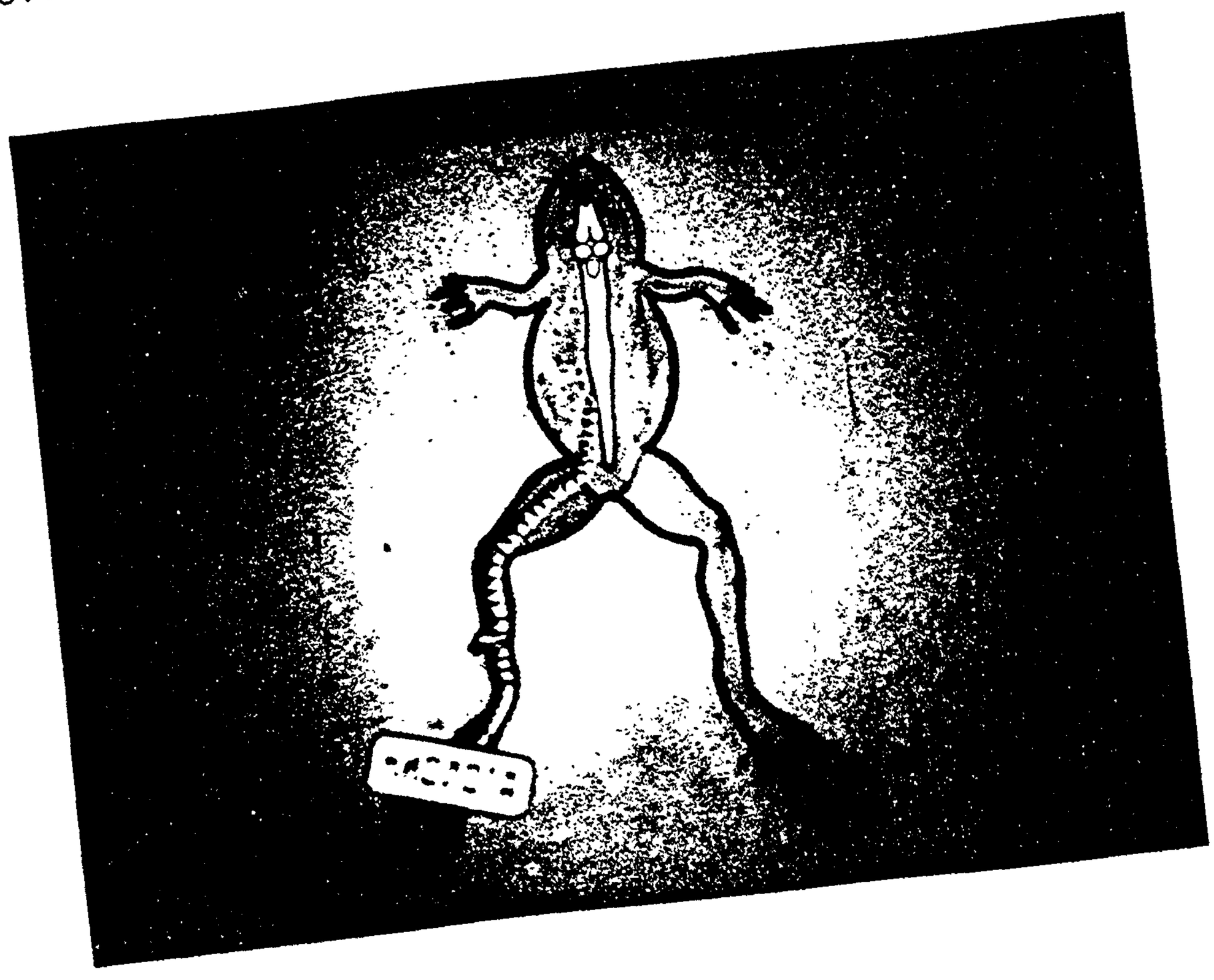

3.v.b.


3.v.c.


3.v.d.



3.vi.a.



3.vi.b.

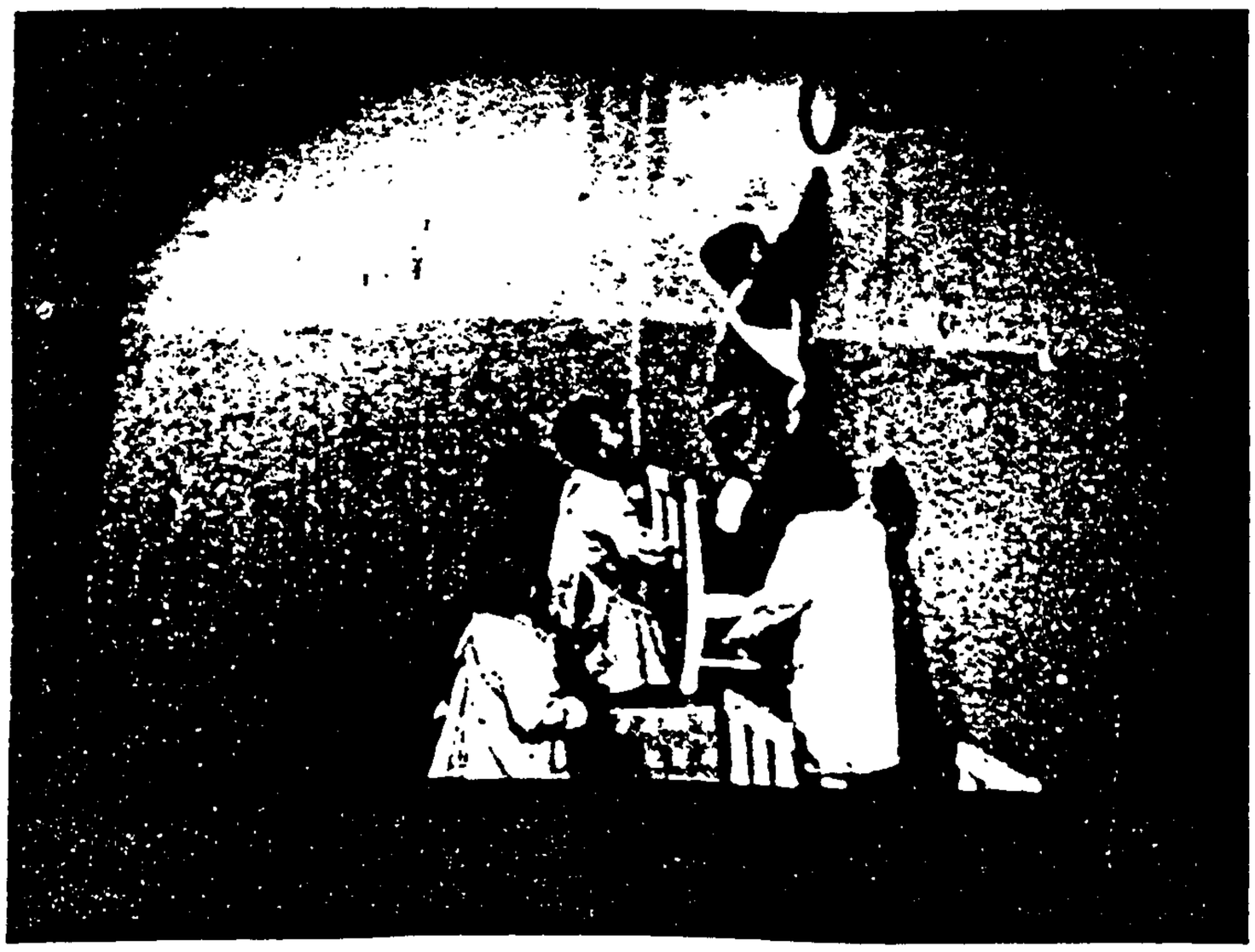
> quired for correct understanding, must be fully and completely transferred onto the montage structure. 86

Pudovkin uses close-ups and the closing of the iris to draw attention to particular points, to analyse, to summarise or draw an inference from a whole sequence: the iris closes around the hand feeding the potato to the elephant: it closes around the young boy in the swimming pool, spluttering and shutting his eyes tight against stinging splashes. Pudovkin uses the opening and closing of the iris in the labour sequence to indicate time lapses between contractions. (ill.3.vii.a)

On completing Mechanics of the Brain, Pudovkin confirmed the principles which he believed fundamental to all film work, "the imperative for clarity and the careful organisation of camera work in time and space".[87] His assertions regarding correct planning and cutting were soon to be restated in his 1926 publications, The Film Scenario and The Film Director and Film Material. In Mechanics of the Brain, Pudovkin produced a montage sufficiently correct (that is to say, coherent, cogent, economical and unambiguous) to satisfy his own purposes and also Pavlov's exacting criteria of empirical exposition. Pudovkin and Pavlov were embarked upon a similar project to map, to trace, to quantify a simple psychical process and, in Pavlov's terms, to claim it for physiology and physics, albeit for a physics which was already becoming out-moded at the time at which he wrote; Pavlov takes Newton for granted as much as he does Darwin: "Pavlov insisted", says Babkin, "that the study of the conditioned reflex mechanism permits one to reduce the problem of the activity of the central nervous system to the

3.vii.a.

3.vii.b.



3.vii.c.

study of space relations, something psychology is unable to do: 'You must be able...to point...to where the excitation process was at a given moment and where it has gone'."[88] Pudovkin regards montage as an implement effecting "the psychological guidance of the spectator". Pudovkin holds to and constructs (where Pavlov purports to reconstruct) a notional space in which individual elements are cumulatively associated, synthesised and connected.

Pravda reviewed Mechanics of the Brain favourably, finding it to accord with the usual view:

> It destroys totally the myth of the human soul. Without willing it, and even in spite of himself, the spectator is irresistibly led to the only possible conclusion: the soul does not exist, the life of the soul, its creation, its inspiration- all this is nothing more than the higher level of a reflex. Mechanics of the Brain is a cultural product of great value, not only for Soviet audiences but also internationally. 89

Furthermore, in spite of Pavlov's own protestations, this is the meaning which Pudovkin apparently sought to convey. On the day on which he began work on the film, intent upon popularising 'Pavlov's teaching on the Conditioned Reflex as the foundation of behaviour in Man', Pudovkin wrote:

> It is clear to everyone, how important it is to propagate this idea, corroborated by the materialist world view, that for the present time the notion of 'Soul' is inevitably extinguished. 90

1. Jay Leyda, Kino (London:1960) 206: "Professor Burankov, at the Pavlov Institute, was so impressed by Pudovkin's concentration and method that he offered him a post as his assistant".

2. interviewed by Jean and Luda Schnitzer in 1958, Poudovkine, (Paris: 1966) 172.

3. Boris Babkin, Pavlov: A Biography (London: 1951) 162.

4. David Joravsky, Soviet Marxism and Natural Science (London: 1961) 66: "...an effort was made to win the 'bourgeois specialist' in natural science to political sympathy with the regime and, if possible, to ideological agreement with Marxism. But as late as 1928 natural scientists were assured by Lunacharsky that it was their 'legitimate right' not to be Marxists".

5. ibid. 67.

6. Richard Gregory, Oxford Companion to the Mind (Oxford: 1987) 59.

7. transcript made by William Horsley Gantt of an address given by Pavlov in 1923, Integrative Physiology and Behavioural Science 27.3 (1992) 271

8. quoted by Windholz in 'The Critical Mind and the Arrogance of Power' Integrative Physiology and Behavioural Science 28.2 (1993) ;
see also Bukharin in Maynard Solomon, ed. Marxism and Art (Brighton:1979) 205.
Sheila Fitzpatrick records that, notwithstanding their differences of opinion, Bukharin and Pavlov maintained a respectful friendship: see Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union (Cambridge: 1979) 84 & 273.

9. Babkin op.cit. 152.

10. David Joravsky, Russian Psychology: A Critical History (Oxford: 1989) xvi;
Loren R.Graham Science and Philosophy in the Soviet Union (London: 1973) 375-394.

11. for differences between Pavlov and the American tradition, and an interesting discussion as to why experimental psychology gained such sway and influence in the U.S., see Sigmund Koch and David E.Leary, eds. A Century of Psychology as Science (New York: 1985) 297.

12. see B.M.Teplov 'Problems in the Study of General Types of Higher Nervous Activity in Man and Animals' in J.A.Gray, ed. Pavlov's Typology (Oxford: 1964)

13. Daniel P.Todes, 'From Radicalism to Scientific Convention', Ph.D. thesis, Michigan U, 1981, 426.

14. Turgenev, Fathers and Sons, trans. Rosemary Edmonds (Harmondsworth: 1979) 160.

15. again, see Todes op.cit.

16. although dogs recovered well from operations on gastric secretions, experiments on the brain proved exceptionally difficult, "...damage irritates the brain and the action of the injury lasts for an indefinite time and spreads to uncertain limits..."; I.P.Pavlov, Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes, trans. Gantt (London: 1928) 203.

17. George Bernard Shaw, Everybody's Political What's What? (London: 1944) 202.

18. J.B.S.Haldane, Daedalus- or science and the future (London: 1924) 8.

19. Pavlov, op.cit., trans. Gantt, 213.

20. William James, Psychology (London: 1892) 467.
Alexander Vucinich, Science in Russian Culture (Stanford: 1970) 309.

21. Shaw, op.cit. 203.

22. Yevgeny Zamyatin, We, trans. Clarence Brown (Harmondsworth: 1993) 221. (first written 1920-21)

23. Saul Rosenzweig in Koch and Leary, op.cit.

24. Frederick A.Talbot, Moving Pictures (London: 1912)

25. Voskresenskii, 'O nauchnykh fil'makh', ARK zhurnal 9 (1925) 12.

26. Rachit Iangirov, 'Le cinéma non joué', Le Studio Mejrabpom, ed. Aicha Kherroubi (Paris: 1996) 88.

27. see for instance articles by Prof.Tikonov (a regular contributor) in Kino 1 Dec. 1922: 20-21; 25 Dec. 1922: 19-21 and 21-22 'Cinematography in Science'; articles on natural science films in Sovetskii Ekran 14 (192 ) 15, 'The Amoeba'; Boris Fefer on 'Mechanics of the Brain' in Sovetskii 31 and in Sovetskoe Kino 1 (1926) 10-12 also Sovetskoe Kino 8, 'Mezhrabpom Rus and popular science'; see also Prof.Ermilov 'Cinema Teaching' Art Ekran 3 (1923) 5.

28. Lionel Landry, 'Einstein au Cinéma' Cinéa 71-72 (1922) 12: "Before indicating the manner in which the theories of Einstein have been represented on screen it is worth remembering...what is supposedly known of these theories...One appreciates that the cinematographic illustration of them was extremely difficult".

29. Richard Stites, Russian Popular Culture (Cambridge: 1992) 42.

30. Jean and Luda Schnitzer, Cinema in Revolution, trans. David Robinson (London: 1973) 186.

31. Paul Babitsky and John Rimberg, The Soviet Film Industry (New York: 1955) 18.

32. see René Marchand and Pierre Weinstein, Le Cinéma (Paris: 1927), Vance Kepley Jr., in Inside the Film Factory

(London: 1991) and Peter Kenez Cinema and Soviet Society (Cambridge: 1992)

33. Kenez, ibid. 87.

34. Iangirov, op.cit. 93.

35. correspondence with Ian Christie, 1993; he also concurs with my suspicions as to the source of Dart's remarks

36. Leon Moussinac, Le Cinema Sovietique (Paris: 1927) 49 Winifred Ellerman (Bryher), Film Problems of Soviet Russia (Territet: 1929) 46-47.

37. Leyda, op.cit. 205-206; Experiment in the Film ed. Roger Manvell (London: 1949) 271; also Marchand and Weinstein, op.cit. 145: "Amongst documentary films, the remarkable Mechanics of the Brain...is certainly worthy of special mention".

38. Thorold Dickinson and Catherine de la Roche, Soviet Cinema (London: 1948) 65; Peter Dart Pudovkin's Films and Film Theory (New York: 1974) 10.

39. A.Mariamov, Pudowkin: Kampf und Vollendung (Berlin: 1958) 85; compare N.Iezuitov, Pudovkin (Moscow: 1937) 44-54.

40. Paul Rotha, The Film Till Now (London: 1951) 233.

41. Schnitzer, op.cit., trans. Robinson, 136.

42. Anatoli Golovnia, 'S'emki kartiny "Povedenie Cheloveka"' in Sovetskii Ekran 40 (1926) 4; Golovnia's anecdote about a particularly amorous hippo. is endorsed by Voskresenskii!

43. V.I.Pudovkin, 'Kak delaetsia kul'turfil'ma "Povedenie Cheloveka"', Sovetskoe Kino 1 (1927) 5.

44. with regard to the banning of Mother and deletions from The End of St.Petersburg, see Ivor Montagu Collection/ B.F.I./Special Materials Item 67; for bans on Pudovkin's films in Britain, the Empire and elsewhere see also James C.Robertson, The Hidden Cinema (London: 1993) 34 and Tom Dewe Matthews, Censored (London: 1994) 43 & 86: "After examining Mother, which he inexplicably viewed within the privacy of his flat, T.P.O'Connor astonishingly misread Pudovkin's unsubtle plot to the extent that he thought Mother contributed towards better understanding of Russian conditions. The Baldwin government brought power to bear on the B.B.F.C. to veto the film".

45. I.M.C./B.F.I./S.M. Item 11, correspondence with the Home Office concerning the licensing of educational films

46. Royal Society of Medicine, Neurology Section (minutes of meetings 1907-1936) 394 & 398. Contributors included such eminent neurologists as Douglas McAlpine, A.S.Blundell-Bankart, Sir Farquhar-Buzzard and C.E.Worster-Drought; Montagu says that in 1930 University College London bought the film.

47. see Ellerman (Bryher) op.cit., 48; also in Close-Up 3/4: 30; Kino i Kul'tura 1 (1929) 95 refers to articles by Bryher advocating the use of film in education: Times Educational Supplement 606, 616, 617 (1927)

48. . I.M.C./B.F.I./S.M. Item 15, letter 20th.June 1930 to Sidney Bernstein: "Mr.Dickinson has just drawn my attention to the fact that the London Workers' Society have announced 'Mechanism of the Brain' for its next performance. He feels that this might lead to difficulties for us- the film was rejected by the B.B.F.C....it should only be shown by special permission of the L.C.C....we applied to the L.C.C. but just at the time of the troubles re Sunday performances. Under these circumstances it was decided to show the film after quite a good deal was cut out of it... If London Workers show it without making such careful cuts as we made it may well lead to trouble. There was no doubt that a number of our members disliked the film very much..." I am basing my conjecture that there could be objections to the childbirth sequence in Mechanics on cuts required to be made in Mother (Item 67, letter 23rd.Dec.1929 to B.B.F.C.) and on the emphasis placed on its educational use by Bryher op.cit..

49. Babkin op.cit.; Joravsky op.cit.; Vucinich op.cit. Hilaire C uny, Pavlov and his School (London: 1962); Jeffrey Gray, Pavlov (Brighton: 1979)

50. I.P.Pavlov, Selected Works (Moscow: n.d.) 377

51. Schnitzer, op.cit. 20.

52. Leyda, op.cit. 174; C.A.Lejeune,Cinema (London: 1931) 134: see also Lee Atwell, G.W.Pabst (Boston: 1977) 37-42.

53. Mariamov, op.cit. 74; Sovetskoe Kino 1 (1926) 10; Iesuitov, op.cit. 44.

54. Iezuitov, ibid. 53.

55. I.P.Pavlov, op.cit., trans. Gantt 42.

56. Pudovkin, Kino 26 Apr. 1927

57. on the intervention of Tsarist authorities in the availability of foreign popular science materials see Todes, op. cit. 79; see also Jeffrey Brooks, When Russia learned to Read (Princeton: 1985) 247 & 268: "...no luboki were genuine works of popular science- writers did not communicate much about scientific method nor impart an understanding of how science differs from magic- but in the limited task of combatting superstition popular writers made important contributions to promoting a more modern outlook among common readers...At the lower level of popular literature occasional attempts to demonstrate the marvels of technology or to enthrone...science in place of familiar popular beliefs may have meant no more than the replacement of one vague and mysterious explanation or phenomenon with another".

58. V.M.Bekhterev, General Principles of Human Reflexology (London: 1933) trans. Murphy, 141; Babkin op.cit. 87.

59. I.P.Pavlov, Conditioned Reflexes, trans.Anrep (Oxford: 1927) xi.

60. Babkin op.cit. 109.

61. I.P.Pavlov, op.cit. trans. Gantt 42.

62. ibid. 144; see also Cluny op.cit.

63. FT 84; also Leyda op.cit. 206.

64. Voskresenskii, op.cit. 12.

65. I.P.Pavlov, op.cit. trans. Anrep 169.

66. Mikhail Bulgakov, The Heart of a Dog trans. Glenny (London: 1968)

67. Frolov, op.cit. 238 & 261.

68. Vucinich, op.cit. 308.

69. I.P.Pavlov, Twenty Years of Objective Study of the Higher Nervous Activity in Animals (London: 1928) pref.

70. Bekhterev, op.cit. 141.

71. Joravsky, op.cit. (1961) 241, re Pavlov boycotting congresses as a mark of disapproval of the regime.

72. Bekhterev, op.cit.

73. I.P.Pavlov, op.cit., trans. Gantt 40.

74. I.P.Pavlov, op.cit. (n.d.) 624.

75. ibid. 578-595

76. Karl R.Popper, The Logic of Scientific Discovery (London: 1972) 30.

77. Joravsky, op.cit. (1961) 93 re Enchmenism and Mininism

78. ARK zhurnal 9 (1925)

79. Lisa Cartwright, Screening the Body (Minneapolis: 1995) 1.

80. see Aaron Scharf, Art and photography (Harmondsworth: 1974) 204; Charles Darwin, The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals (1872; Chicago: 1965) 5 & 25.

81. Sovetskoe Kino 1 (1925) 5.

82. ARK zhurnal 9 (1925)

83. C uny, op.cit. 72

84. Boris Pavlov, 'L'animation' in Kherroubi op.cit. 95; the animation studio was set up in 1925.

85. ARK zhurnal 9 (1925)

86. ibid.

87. ibid.

88. Babkin, op.cit. 310.

89. Pravda 14 Dec. 1926

90. Kinogazeta 28 Jul. 1925

## 4. Types, Typage and Typologies

An impetus towards the subdivision of the entire spread of society into discretely differentiated groupings was derived in large part from the taxonomy of nineteenth-century Natural History. However, even Darwin cautioned that the term 'species' was fundamentally "arbitrarily given for the sake of convenience", and that his conceptual model was no more than provisional.[1] The ideological imperative to found a vision of society on a scientifically authorised model was made manifest in literature and the visual arts. The theme of 'Darwinism and Marxism' was present in all academic programmes of the Commissariat of Enlightenment: this "gave the progressive secondary school teacher the chance to work on the formation of a materialist world-view in his pupils, to inculcate scientific-atheistic views of the world, and to make them active transformers of nature".[2] In Soviet practice specifically it found equivalence in a determinedly politicised vision of history, embracing the past and the future. Plekhanov, as founding father of Russian Marxism and himself greatly influenced by Darwin, declared the general agenda in 1898:

> At the present time, human nature can no longer be regarded as the final and most general cause of historical progress: if it is a constant, then it cannot explain the extremely changeable course of history; if it is changeable, then obviously its changes are themselves determinded by historical progress. At the present time we must regard the development of productive forces as the final and most general cause of historical progress of mankind and it is these productive forces that determine consecutive changes in the social relations of men...history is made by the social man, who is its sole "factor". [3]

In Soviet film, the impetus is systematically doubled and bi-focal in orientation: firstly, it concentrates essential

traits and attributes which tend to distinguish individual characters one from another; secondly, in the identification of particular interest groups in the audience such that characters can be constructed to agitational and didactic (and entertaining) effect.[4]

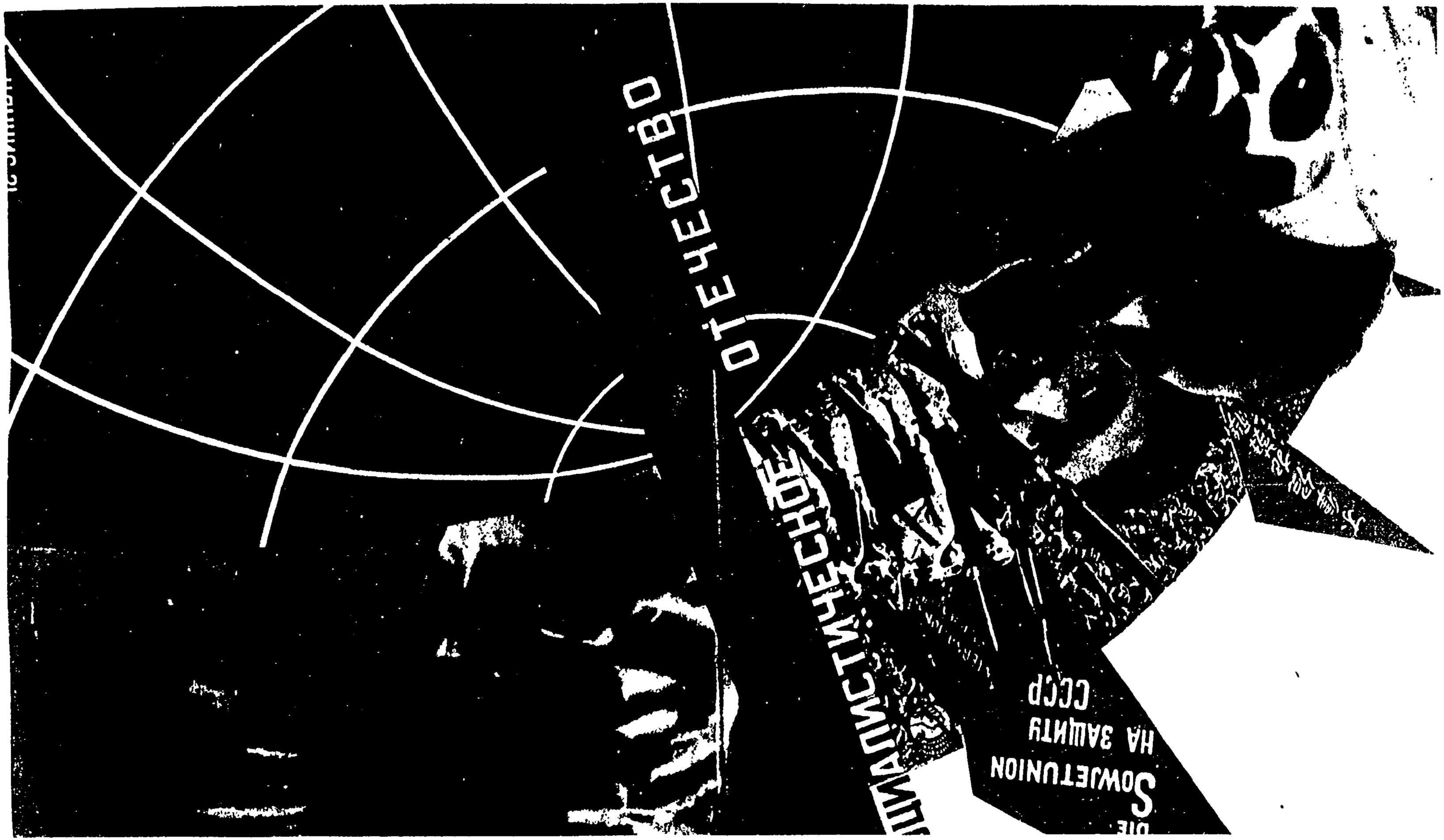
In Storm over Asia (The Descendant of Genghis Khan), an old Mongolian lies dying. Prayers are offered by a lama. The son, Bair, is told to sell a rare and wonderful fox fur. This pelt, advises his father, will fetch enough money to keep them for the winter. The lama, catching sight of the fur, demands a higher price for his services, but Bair sees him off and in the tussle an amulet is dropped. Bair takes the amulet and goes to market. Bair is offered far less than the true price for the pelt but the American merchant, Hughes, insists that he accept his price, Bair becomes angry and a fight breaks out in which a white man is injured. In retaliation for the shedding of one man's blood, troops are despatched to pillage the native encampments and punish the whole population. Bair is urged to flee for his safety. "Go to the Russians, they are kind and strong". An intertitle interjects to locate the action in 1920, on the Eastern front between the partisans and the White Russians (supp-orted by American and European battalions and services). Bair then encounters a partisan and a soldier fighting on a cliff edge. The soldier falls, but Bair holds the partisan fast. He is thanked as a friend. Other troops are heard ad-vancing and Bair and the Russian needs must escape. Another partisan arrives, at the gallop. "What are you waiting for?" cries this partisan and Bair leaps behind the saddle. Bair is then invited into the partisans' camp. There are old and

young men, of various origins in the new Soviet Empire. A fellow Mongolian translates for Bair. Bair's eyes widen as he looks across at the partisan who saved him: in the depths of an engrossing fur coat, a child is being suckled. Bair had not realised that Daria, his saviour, was a woman. Another woman, with plaited braids, also with a young child, is shown sharing in the group's amusement at Bair's surprise. The Russian is now brought in on his death bier. He, the commander of the group, calmly and stoically utters his final words. "Listen to Moscow", translates the Mongolian, "that's where Lenin lives", he explains. "Moscow...Lenin" are to become Bair's talisman in place of the monk's amulet which he carries. The sequence ends with a held shot of a primed gun mounted silhouetted against sky and a distant longshot of the Kremlin against a setting sun.

Although they are all applied to a common purpose, there are a number of typological strategies at work in this sequence and in Storm over Asia as a whole. Typification is used as a means of registering a wide sweep of individuals and activities. Broadly speaking, inclusivity of range is a defining function of realism in art, as is extensivity in its historical context: realism is defined in the perceived extension of preceding conventional limits. For instance, Raymond Williams, like Lukács before him, claimed the enumeration of social types in Shakespeare to be an historically significant tendency.[5] In Soviet films of the 1920's, the representation of characters is often adopted from (or at least shared with) reputable and approved novels, from Gogol or Gorki for instance. My Universities gives a description which befits Bair: "His head was shaven Tartar fashion and

he seemed to be tightly sewn up in his grey Cossack jacket which was hooked right up to his chin".[6] Pudovkin's Mother inherits from the Gorki original a range of typical individuals amongst the activists: intellectuals, well-bred young women (with portfolio), peasants of Good Soul.[7] The typological model was authorised not only for representation to the native audience, it was also the chosen form of address of the nascent Soviet republic when represented abroad. In 1918, the delegation sent to peace talks in Brest Litovsk contained several Russians, an Armenian, two Jews, a woman revolutionary, an old soldier and a rough-hewn worker. "To complete the sociological mosaic of the worker-peasant state, they picked up on their way to the station in Petrograd a peasant from the streets and pressed him into service as the embodiment of the People".[8] Political posters of the 1920's and early 1930's similarly show a range of types.(ill.4.i)

Judith Mayne has rightly observed the importance of 'the Woman Question' to the Soviets as an aspect of social egalitarianism and draws attention to the new equality instituted in state benefits, rights in marriage and education. She construes the representation of women in Soviet films as "problematical".[9] The social enfranchising of women is in some sense shown to have been earned by their active part in the revolutionary struggle, as is demonstrated in such figures as the shop-girl in New Babylon, Daria in Storm over Asia and the Red partisan in Protazanov's The Forty-First. This acknowledgement in film was predated by the appearance of "the new Soviet woman" in periodicals, in the guise of "nurse, political leader in the army, even as combat soldier":


ОТЕЧЕСТВО
ИМПЕРИСТИЧЕСКОЕ
SOWJETUNION
НА ЗАЩИТУ
СССР

> She was modest, firm, dedicated, sympathetic, courageous, bold, hard-working, energetic and often young, gave no thought to her personal welfare and could leave her children, although with regret, if she was needed at the front; she could put up with physical hardship, face combat and torture if captured and even endure death, believing that her sacrifice had contributed to the building of a better world. 10

These films and periodicals also engage with campaigns for the further politicisation of women, but as women fighting for society rather than on issues exclusively of interest to women. Figures such as Daria were in some measure drawn from life, but more significantly were intended as an inspirational ideal for proletarian women, whom the Party leaders believed to be inherently conservative.

> The Party leaders insisted that agitation among women must do nothing to rouse "feminist" attitudes, which meant that such agitation must emphasise women's responsibilities to the "general revolutionary cause"...women were to be persuaded to work for the good of all and to pursue their own special interests only to advance the revolution. 11

The model is aspirational and utopian. True, these figures can be deemed to represent more of an idealised archetype than a statistical mean or abstract average, but I think that Mayne's complaint that none of these women are "real flesh and blood" fails to acknowledge the stylistic conventions which govern the representation of all the individual types in these films. I think also that she posits a notion of spectatorship which consists in matching a particular individual character against the vagaries of personal experience: mis-match finds the characters defaulting. Such a notion is itself not unproblematical. The mass address of early Soviet films is formed inclusively in the accumulation of a number of distinct characters rather than in an attempt to construct an holistic amalgam concurring with and infall-

ibly reproducing a full encounter with a living individual in everyday life, nor, as Eisenstein asserted, in an attempt to construct "the objective co-ordination of sign and essence". Nevertheless, such criticisms were equally levelled by contemporaneous Soviet audiences and the conventions of representation shifted accordingly. The effect of the sign upon the audience is prioritised over its verisimilitude.

Conversely, Storm over Asia attaches itself firmly to the reality of everyday experience in its capacity as an anthropological and environmental document. Like Vertov's earlier One Sixth of the World or later Three Songs for Lenin, Storm serves to demonstrate to its Soviet viewers the geographical extent of the Soviet empire and its ethnic inclusivity. It was not merely a matter of a correspondent submitting copy from "the far flung outskirts" to the centre: films were carried by train, boat and camel into the regions in an attempt to reach as wide an audience as possible. The journals and contemporary commentators report the activities of regional studios and of Russian companies in the regions: Goskino and Mezhrabpom-Rus' both made films in the Caucasus, Proletkino in Turkestan; there were studios in the Ukraine, in Georgia, in Uzbekistan and Tatkino made films with Tartar subtitles; ARK zhurnal 1 discusses the activities of Bukhkino. One Sixth and Shub's The Fall of the Romanovs had shown Caucasians, Arabs, Negroes and Asiatics.[12] The distribution of films throughout the Union was especially important given that, as late as 1927, more than 98% of the peasantry was still living on small holdings, and amongst the peasantry especially, illiteracy was common.[13]

Part of the appeal of Storm's scenario for Pudovkin and Golovnia was in the opportunity it presented to work away from the constraints of the studio, working with living material on location, recording the exotic landscape and culture of the Buriat-Mongolian Republic. Indeed, avant-garde and purist critics censured them for being entirely enthralled by their subject matter and indulgent towards its aesthetic and decorative (and commercial) possibilities.(see chapter two, above)[14] Others, more sympathetic and tolerant, perhaps, have said that this film suited Pudovkin's temperament well.[15] Certainly, the original copy of the film includes considerably more peripheral, establishing travelogue footage of the Mongolians at market than survives in the later version, showing sword dancers and acrobats, different market stalls and Mongolians jostling with one another to see and hear a record player. Equally, the technical difficulties of filming in these conditions (like those of Flaherty's pioneering expeditions into the North) are logged in the manner of an explorer overcoming an obstacle to his path.(ill.4.ii). Golovnia recalls:

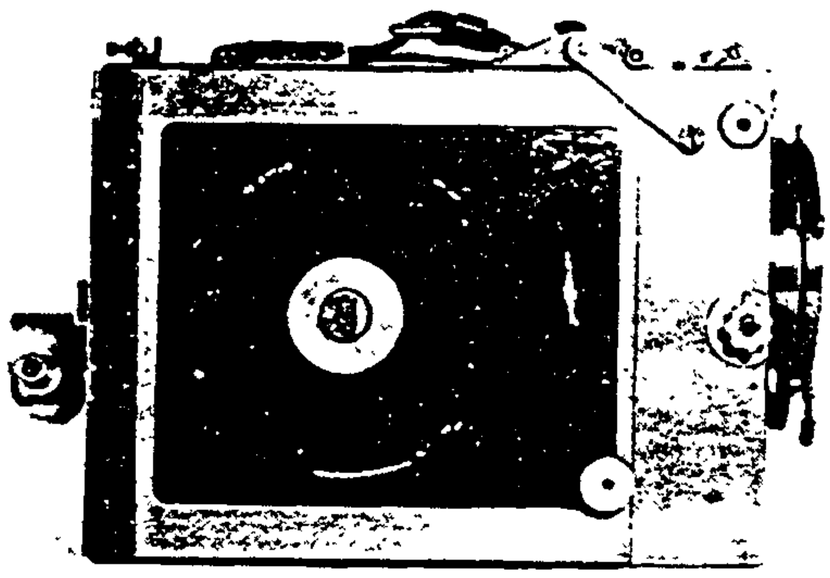
> The feast of Tzai did not exist in the original scenario any more than the other scenes which resulted from our contacts with the actual life of the monasteries, which still existed there at that time and made a great impression upon us.... The feast of Tzai is always celebrated on a certain date. At Achirov's request the Bog Do Lama ...agreed to bring forward the date of the festival especially so that we could film it. But the performance of the ceremony could not be modified: the ritual had to be strictly followed, independent of the requirements of the filming. They paid absolutely no attention to us and of course there could be no retakes. I was just shown the plan of the ceremony in advance- what people would dance when, where etc....Unhappily at this time there were no hand cameras. In order to shoot all this I had a harness which held the camera on my chest. It was an old Debrie; and the motor gave up the ghost at once so I had to operate it manually,

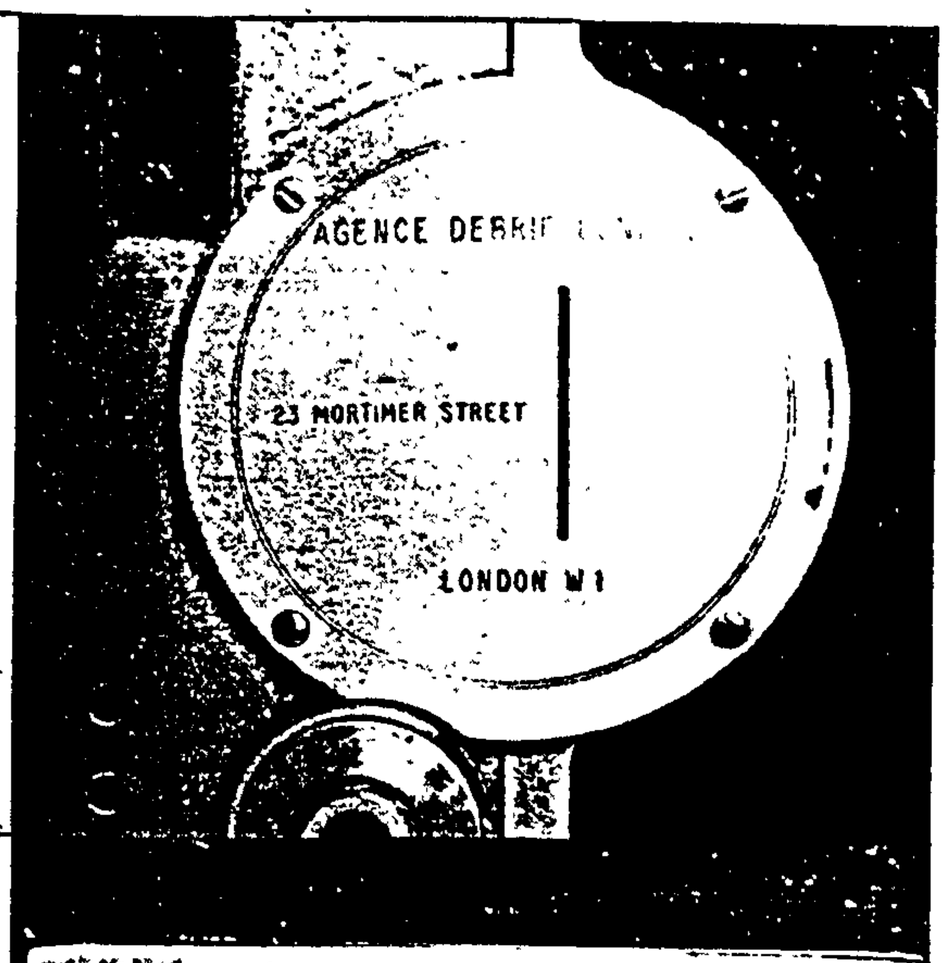
**1. Le Parvo Modèle L**
**2. Debrie, André**
**3. Paris** **35 mm**

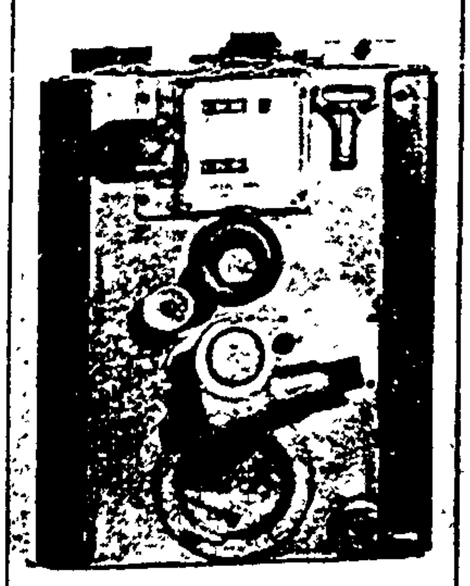
# ACR 603

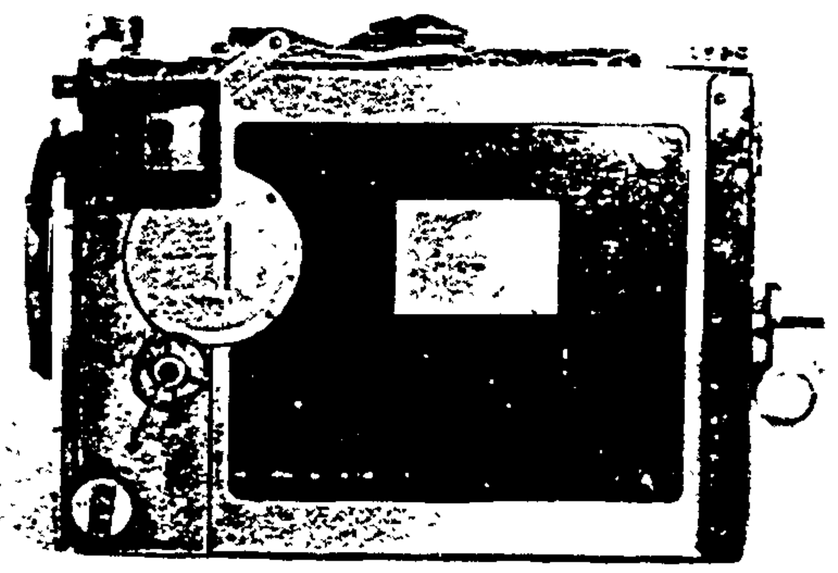
**F Debrie 015 FK**

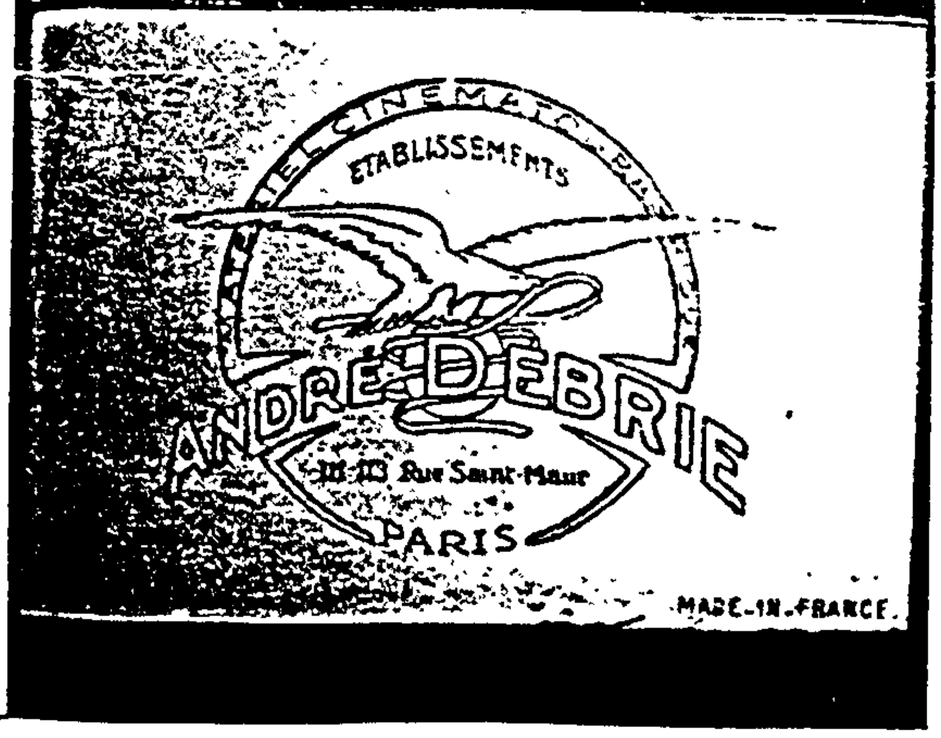
| | |
|---|---|
| 4. Herstellungsjahr | ab 1922 |
| 5. Preis | |
| 6. Format | 35 mm |
| 7. Filmlänge, System | 120 m Kassetten, innen, Metall, koaxial |
| 8. Antrieb | HK + E-Motor |
| 9. Schaltwerk | zweis. Greifer + SGR, VWTR + NWTR, ZSG |
| 10. Bildfrequenzen | HK 1U1B + 1U8B |
| 11. Verschluß | umlaufend, SBV |
| 12. Zählwerk | Feet 0 → 999, Bilder 0 → 999, mechanisch |
| 13. Objektive | Cook Speed Panchro 1:2/50 mm FOC WO Debrie BAJ |
| 14. Sucher | FOCAF + FOCAM zuschaltbar, NSU |
| 15. Belichtungsmesser | |
| 16. Anschlüsse | E-Motor, Kompendium, Filterhalter |
| 17. Zusatzmöglichkeiten | Tachometer 0—24 B, Wasserwaage, Masken |
| Besonderheiten | |
| 18. Maße (BxLxH), Gewicht | 14,7 (26) x 27,3 (52) x 19,5 (22) — 10,5 kg |
| 19. Form, Dekor | Metallgehäuse, TW schwarz lackiert |
| 20. Anmerkungen | |
| 21. Referenz | DFMF-D |
| 22. Literatur | KAT Debrie 1936/11 |
| | Coissac: Histoire du Cinematographe, Paris 1925/488 |









> turning the handle and all the time running right and left, 5,000 metres of film. 16

The recording of Mongolian culture was not a self-sufficient enterprise, in spite of appearances. It roots Bair in a particular environment and social organisation and serves to amplify a larger theme. Diversity and extensiveness are employed to demonstrate a transcendent humanism of body and spirit and to identify this with a specific ideology. "All the emotions which we revolutionists, at the present time, feel apprehensive of naming", says Trotski in 1924, "such as disinterested friendship, love for ones neighbour, sympathy, will be the mighty ringing chords of socialist poetry".[17] Fraternal love is similarly represented by Gorki and Lunacharski, in quasi cultist terms as a putative substitute for religion: "We will kindle a new sun...a new life comes into being born of the children's love for the entire world".[18] "Take my hat, my mittens" say Bair's fellow trappers as he bids them farewell. Bair's help is offered to the partisan fighting the soldier on the basis of an enemy's enemy being a friend. Bair warms to the partisans because they likewise show him familiar kindness: this is a human transaction which transcends the barriers of language. In contrast, an inhumane exchange is demanded by the representatives of an oppositional ideology, the occupying forces. Want of humanity is indicated in the unequal exchange of blood- the shedding of one white man's blood demands an inordinate forfeit, a reparation of enormous suffering on the part of the native population (in seizing their cattle, a livliehood is denied them). Blood is discriminately valued in the discussion between the white doctor and nurse: "a

white man's blood for him?", queries the nurse attending to Bair, the wounded Mongolian trapper; "He has to live", replies the doctor, referring to Bair, the prince of ancient lineage.

In spite of the overlaying of different typological strategies in Storm over Asia, these remain clearly organised and correctly prioritised. Class type is favoured over national type in the identification of characters' interests. A distinction is made between the British foot-soldiers and their commanding officers. Decking out the mess-hall with flags and tassels in readiness for the treaty-signing, Ronald complains: "What's all the fuss about?"; "It's for that prince they nearly shot", says his fellow rustic. Osip Brik, Pudovkin's scenarist, says that the episode of Bair's execution is drawn out as a matter of dramatic necessity (critics said that it was drawn out too long).* It is intercut with the parallel action of the deciphering of the amulet fragment, such that the discovery of Bair's supposed identity and the moment of his supposed execution occur together.[19] However, the suspense is not used gratuitously, merely to tantalise the audience. The episode is crucial to Pudovkin's thematic purpose. Grudgingly, Ronald goes out to perform the command to execute Bair. He procrastinates, slowly putting on his jacket, then his coat, then turning up the coat collar. Another soldier hides behind a penny magazine: he wants no part in this affair either. Ronald dithers over selecting a rifle, then decides to take a pistol too. On the

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*again, some of the stage business involving a puddle and gaiters (Ronald after the supposed shooting) and boots and planks (officers crossing puddles) is cut from the 1948 version

way, he makes a detour around the edge of a large puddle, which Bair splashes through the middle of regardless. He then finds further ploys to postpone the shooting, filling a pipe for himself. Then he laboriously tears off a strip of paper and rolls a cigarette for Bair from his own pouch. He moves to untie Bair's hands, so that he can smoke it. But this is no routine enactment of a prisoner's "one last request": Bair serenely, graciously, declines to smoke, he is already resigned to his fate. Ronald is angered, I would suggest, less by the rejection of a gift kindly intended than by Bair's dispassionate disengagement from the situation; in refusing to save himself, even momentarily, Bair equally denies Ronald a momentary stay of execution from the task he dreads to perform. Bair is not complicit in the act of vengeance. The refusal of the comradely offer of the cigarette, albeit benignly intended, tacitly witholds from Ronald any easing of his own conscience.

A similar distinction is made between the Mongolian priests and the tribesmen who call upon their services. While the tribesmen may be held to be the innocent victims of superstition, their fears are deviously preyed upon by the priest at the old man's bedside: "the gods demand a great sacrifice", he says. As he sways with the incantation of the prayers, his eyes flash open at the mention of the valuable fur, suggesting that his mind is really occupied with more wordly concerns and that his religion is sham. Hughes is similarly not to be trusted: the trappers bite the coins he throws to them to test and value their metal. Mercantile, ecclesiastic and military interests are shown to be in cahoots with one another in their exploitation and

oppression of the Mongolians.

In 1922, a decree had been passed through the Commissariat for Enlightenment requiring the screening of "films of specific propaganda content" alongside the entertainment pictures, intended for amusement and income. Films "from the life of Peoples of All Countries" were to include, it was suggested, such material as the colonial policy of England in India.[20] It is significant that in a film of 1928 the opposition is identified with imperialism (however insidious), feudalism and the intervention of foreign capital. No claim is made on behalf of the foreign army for support during the Civil War for the restoration of Tsarism.[21] Equally, it is historically significant that the focus of Storm over Asia should be symbolically centred on Moscow, indeed the death of the partisan leader and the held silhouetted shot of the Kremlin against a blaze of light is a structurally pivotal point in the film. Marx had indicated that communist revolution would occur worldwide. Informed by the Soviet experience, and the absence of revolution elsewhere, Lenin's revisions to this proposition in the early 1920's (thereafter adopted by Stalin) suggested that Communism was immediately possible or necessary within this single state. Under these circumstances, I would suggest, the appeal of Storm over Asia to foreign audiences is less an urge towards universal uprising and more a summons for support for the only state in which a revolution had been magnificently achieved. It is intent upon self-preservation in the face of conspiracy abroad. It is also an answer to fears on the part of individual nationalities of aggressive Russification. There is an open invitation to honour Bair's talisman, "Lenin...

Moscow...go to the Russians, they are good and strong". In spite of the reach of the film to represent the periphery of the union ("far flung on the outskirts...") the partisans' attention is centralised.

Films of the earlier 1920's tended to use static types to represent character, these sometimes adopted from visual forms suited to a broad and general and immediate address, for instance posters, chap-books and street festivals. (ill.4.iii) The depiction of Kerensky in October and The End of St.Petersburg as vain and foppish, the darling of the bourgeoisie applauding him from the gallery, is predated by similar representations in Evreinov's Storming of the Winter Palace (1920), the verses of Maiakovskii and elsewhere.[22] (see chapter six, below) In November 1918, Meierkhold had staged Maiakovskii's spectacular Mystery Bouffe, in which a world is divided into two camps, workers and non-workers. Maiakovskii did not depict more than a single interest in each camp, and the bourgeoisie was identified with tsarism. When the bourgeois opt for a republic it is of no effect for the workers: "the republic is the same old tsar, just with a hundred mouths".[23] Such types are especially clearly rendered in the puppet animations of Ptushko and Medvedkin and in Vertov's graphic animation Soviet Toys (1924).[24] In Mother and The End of St.Petersburg the lorgnette is a typical attribute of bourgeois women; in New Babylon (1929) the capitalist is denoted by the typical attribute of a shiny top-hat.(ill.4.iv) It adopts the atmosphere of a carnival by placing its principal figures close to the camera with a dancing, swirling throng as a backdrop. Trauberg and Kozintsev researched Daumier's caricatures for their


ИЛИ СМЕРТЬ КАПИТАЛУ,


ИЛИ СМЕРТЬ ПОД ПЯТОЙ КАПИТАЛА!

presentation of the Paris commune and Pudovkin's portrayal in this film of a Polish nobleman seems to owe much to Civil War propaganda and such agit performances as The Trial of Wrangel (1919).[25] However, while the oppositional types are flatly portrayed in poster fashion, meanwhile the character of the shop-girl at the centre of the story changes with the growing awareness of her responsibilities to her class. Once a timorous, set-upon creature, like Bair, a political naïf, she is later seen armed and mounting the barricade, like Daria, an active partisan. The bourgeois and aristocratic types serve merely as functionaries to the incidental articulation of this process. Indeed, their obligation to behave according to type, apparently oblivious and uncomprehending of the historic necessity which threatens to shatter their false security, is itself used as an object for satiric comment: they select a site for a fête-champêtre overlooking the city, affording a good prospect of the fire-works below; like the factory owner in Mother and the gallery in The End of St.Petersburg, they are removed from the fray, decadently indulgent and blissfully ignorant of their impending extinction.

In Storm over Asia the opposition is similarly shown to be ignorant but here the commentary is, I would suggest, more subtle, more ironic than satiric and is effected within the enactment of the narrative rather than presumed in the audience's ready recognition of familiar types. The opposition, priestly and secular, is shown to be arrogant in its belief that it can manipulate Bair to its own ends. Although parallel cutting draws comparisons between the superficial gloss of both systems (the preening of the envoy and his con-

sort; the dressing and polishing of the temple) the pomp and circumstance is equally undercut by the child-god, the medium of the protective deities (after all, really a child and less of a god) laughing at the expense of the British officer as he bows his shiny bald pate.* It is suggested that the proposed alliance of the priestly and secular interests is prompted by mutual self-interest rather than by understanding: the irony of a British officer pinning militaristic medals on the robes of pacifist Buddhist monks passes unacknowledged by either party. The society women are ignorant of the true majesty and power of the tribal inheritance borne by Bair (actual and imagined), insulting its dignity by passing comment on the ceremonial robes as though he were a figure merely affected to delight the eye. The sense of something at work more ponderous than broad satire is, I

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*see I.M./B.F.I./S.M. item 4: notes to London Film Society 35th. season programme. "The titling [in Storm over Asia] follows closely that of the Russian version; it is customary, in most title lists to identify the soldiers shown in British uniforms as Russian Whites (counter-revolutionary forces equipped with old uniforms); it is obvious, however, from the Russian titles in relation to the Colonel, referring to 'imperial necessity' etc. that the theme of the picture cannot credibly be interpreted in this sense". Also see item 7a, reply to I.M.'s query re films dealing with the Russian Revolution: minutes of exception issued by BBFC for Storm: "We think that the conduct of the British troops wearing British uniforms is such as to make this film unsuitable for exhibition in this country"; "this film was produced to satirise the exploitation of undeveloped peoples". The NFTVA copy of this film includes introductory titling and shots not given in Brik's scenario nor the list in Sobranie Sochinenii, apparently intended to displace attention to American interests in the area: for instance, a c/u of a dollar-bill which Hughes gives to the messenger who reports Bair's arrival at market; a c/u of a magazine article, "ROMANTIC DISCOVERY- this young Mongolian Prince, who was discovered by our troop troops living as a shepherd in the hills is heir to the great conqueror Genghis Khan. He is shortly to be proclaimed Emperor of All the Mongolians. He is strikingly handsome and we predict that he will soon set hearts a-flutter across the Atlantic"

think, abetted by Bair's own sclerotic passivity. Whereas one feels encouraged to laugh spontaneously with Bair at his ingenuous surprise in discovering Daria, one feels in the mounting tension that the later jokes are misplaced and at his expense.

In the fuzzy mythology of the late twentieth century,Genghis Khan is surely a by-word in the West for absolute autocratic rule and ruthless barbarity. It seems worth indicating alternative representations which suggest that this is not an image universally nor historically consistently sustained. At different times and under different circumstances the image has been constructed otherwise. In the context of Storm over Asia how, one may ask, does the Tartar become yoked to a distinctively optimistic and celebratory Soviet view of the future? How did Bair the Mongolian figure for his audience in the new art described by Trotski, "incompatible with pessimism, with scepticism and with all other forms of spiritual collapse...filled with a limitless creative faith..."?[26]

In popular literature and song before the Revolution, says Jeffrey Brooks, the Tartars were unflatteringly presented as the most dangerous and terrible of peoples within the empire, typically described in Suvorov's history of the Russian Empire: "Out of the Asiatic steppe there surged into Russia the Tartars...These people were terrible; they were ferocious in appearance and pitied no-one. Neither rivers nor mountains nor dark forests could stop them".[27] The prevailing myth is attributed by Charles Halperin to the Westernising of Russia initiated by Peter the Great. This "in-

troduced European feelings of superiority into eighteenth-century Russian historiography and racist and colonialist ideologies into nineteenth-century Russian historical writings. Imperial Russian policy towards minorities at the turn of the twentieth century engendered rabid chauvinism".[28] The suggestion that 'twas not ever thus and that a positive view of the Khans could be construed as the retrieval of a pre-Tsarist historiography is borne out by the account in Marco Polo's The Travels. This refers to the founder of the Mongolian Empire as the "good Chingiz Khan", the first to hold lordship and to conquer half the world, "a brave and prudent ruler", tolerant of all religions:*

> Now it happened in the year of Christ's incarnation 1187 that the Tartars chose a king to reign over them whose name in their language was Chingiz Khan, a man of great ability and wisdom, a gifted orator and a brilliant soldier. After his election, all the Tartars in the world, dispersed as they were among various foreign countries, came to him and acknowledged his sovereignty. And he exercised it well and honourably, so that he was loved and honoured not as a lord but as a god...The number of Tartars who rallied round him was past belief. When Chingiz Khan saw what a following he had, he equipped them with bows and their other customary weapons and embarked on a career of conquest. And I assure you that they conquered no less than eight provinces. And this was quite natural; for at that time the lands and provinces in these parts were either ruled by popular government or each had its own king and lord so that lacking mutual union they could not individually resist such a multitude. He did not harm the inhabitants or despoil them of their goods, but led them along with him to conquer other nations...And those he had conquered, when they saw his good government and gracious bearing, asked nothing better than to join his following. 29

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*the exhibition 'Heights of the Heavens' at the Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford, 1994, included material which (happily) supports my argument, documenting the post-glasnost and perestroika revival of Genghis Khan: for instance, the new monument in Delgerhann, Mongolia; witness also the appeal of a millionaire chess-champion to the ascendancy of the Khans as a means of promoting his political career (Radio 4, From our own Correspondent and BBC 2, Correspondent, February 1996)

Halperin suggests further that Mongolian rule exerted less impact on the Russian peasantry than on the aristocracy, pressed into slavery. he suggests that it was no worse than life under the warring princely factions who seized power after the disintegration of the empire. I should like to suggest that the film Storm over Asia engages with the revisionism of contemporaneous Eurasianist intellectuals, attempting to counter the prejudices of their Petrine precursors.[30] Dmitri and Vladimir Shlapentokh say that the advocates of Eurasianism praised Genghis Khan as the founder of the great Eurasian empire, which, in their view, preceded Imperial Russia and the U.S.S.R.. The great Khan was extolled for his opposition to the West and his antipathy towards individualism and the idea of private property.[31]

In Storm over Asia (The Descendant of Genghis Khan), the potency of the myth is acknowledged both in the behaviour of characters in the film and in its address: the British generals believe that they will be able to secure suzerainty and legitimise their power over the people through the authority of the Khan's lineage, in the individual agency of a puppet over whom they hold mastery. Bair, however, is not so much a false Khan as the true avenger of this affront to his people. Similar exemplary figures were adopted by Mardzhanov's Zakon i Dolg (1927), which tells of attempted British colonial expansion in the Caucasus, by Tarich's Bulat Batyr (1928), which celebrates the martyrdom of a Tartar leader who aided peasants in their revolt against Tsarina Catherine II, and Mikhin's Abrek Zaur (discussed in Sovetskii Ekran 6). The final heroic frames of Storm show Bair multiplied many times over, a veritable Mon-

golian horde charging across the steppes.* Bair as a type representative of his people is shown as a "world historical individual" equivalent in his seizure of the force of the moment to the Great Khan himself. Storm uses popular mythology to promote an anti-popularist historical type, Plekhanov's type of "social man...who makes history".

The translation of a raping and pillaging brigand into a positive figure of the revolution is not without precedent and parallel in Soviet popular culture. Stenka Razin was similarly a rebel chief famous in folk-lore and song and familiar in'lubok'illustrations. He was the subject of one of the most successful pre-revolutionary films (made by Romashkov in 1908), appeared in a ballet by Aleksandr Gorski, a Kashenski verse-play and numerous mass spectacles staged in the years following the revolution.[32] According to Jay Leyda a scenario about Stenka Razin was prepared by no less a luminary than Maxim Gorki, intended for direction by Protazanov in 1927.[33] Jeffrey Brooks gives examples from Russian 'byliny' of other bandits, heroes "whose adventures conformed both to the peasants' long struggle for freedom and to a traditional view of man's helplessness before the forces of whimsical nature". Popular serials told the stories of the bandits Churkin, Anton Krechet and Buslaevich.[34]

Equally, one might find mythical sources for Bair in the dual cults of Russian Tsardom: firstly, passively, as a passion bearer imitating the holy suffering of Christ; secondly, actively, as a warrior prince (a portent of Eisen-

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*Brik thought this image, cited by Montagu as an attempt at "a pictorial resolution of a metaphor", overly cinematic; it was not in his scenario for the film.

stein's Alexander Nevski)[35] Here again, Brooks remarks upon other instances of such a paradoxical conjunction: "Bandits were also identified in apocalyptic dreams with the myth of the redeemer tsar who would regain his rightful place on the throne and bring justice and freedom".[36] The assimilation of such superficially antithetical myths into Soviet narratives served to lend popular credence and authority. Lunacharski, Commissar for Enlightenment, seemingly sanctioned such opportunistic translations of Christian imagery in his Religion and Socialism (1908). Similarly, Mother, both the Pudovkin film and the Gorki original, adopt Marian myths from Russian folk belief (the mother who lays down her life), just as certainly as Christianity had borrowed from preceding pagan rituals and practices;[37]Vertov's Soviet Toys pictures the Red Army as a Madonna in Misericorda.

Both Valeri Inkizhinov (who plays Bair) and his father (who plays the father of Bair) have faces in which their ethnic origins are readily recognisable.[38](ill.4.v) Indeed, Golovnia says that they were members of a tribe neighbouring the Buriat territory in which the filming took place: "the land of his fathers and his fathers and his fathers' fathers", reads a subtitle. Their features represent an appreciable mean value; they are cast for verisimilitude, but the plastic value of their distinguishing features (broad forehead, wide-set almond eyes, high cheekbones) are enhanced and emphasised with make-up and lighting.(see chapter six, below) In later life, the younger Inkizhinov was cast indiscriminately in a range of Asiatic rôles.[39] There is a tendency in literature also towards the assiduous and detailed description of typical ethnic physiognomy. A Ukrainian is numbered


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ДЖАМИЛЯ

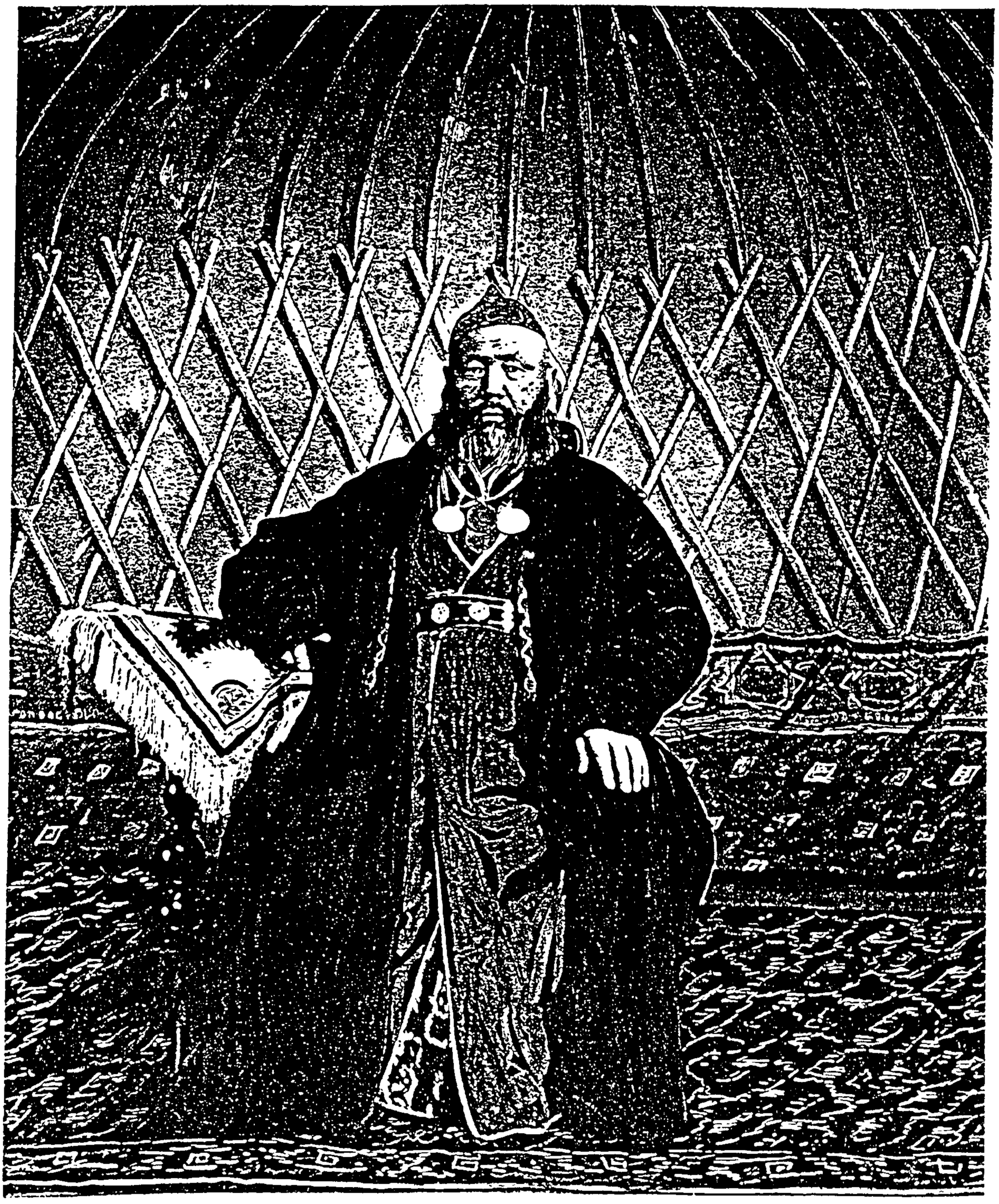
amongst Pavel's comrades in Mother:

> The stranger leisurely removed his short fur jacket...His head was perfectly round and close-cropped, his face shaven except for a thin moustache. the ends of which pointed downward...his eyes large, grey, transparent, protuberant...In the entire angular, stooping figure, with its thin legs, there was something comical, yet winning. He was dressed in a blue shirt and dark loose trousers thrust into his boots. 40

Before the Revolution, there had been photographic catalogues compiled of various ethnic types in the empire and their respective habitats, some overtly decorative in intent (for instance, Bukhar's Album of Views and Types of the Orenburg Region, 1872) others more strictly scientific (for instance, Kostenkov's The Kalmuck Steppe and its Inhabitants, 1860).[41](ill.4.vi) In the fine and applied arts, at the turn of the century, there was a fashion for the itemising of various regional differences in physiognomy and costume.* However, this sort of appropriate casting according to ethnic type, as practicised by Pudovkin in Storm over Asia, should not be confused with the term 'typage' as used by Eisenstein, even though Eisenstein himself has contributed to the confusion by using the term variously on different occasions and has since been subjected to further re-interpretations. Eisenstein was aware of the distinction and duly commented on Pudovkin's idiosyncratic casting of Inkizhinov:

> Pudovkin works with actors: that is one point on which our views differ. He is doing something very interesting: he is looking for something between a professional actor and the people that I use in my films. He takes an actor like Inkizhinov and uses him once as if he were not an actor. He lets him play a rôle that corresponds to his temperament and his natural calling. He is thus at the same time an actor and a real person: but such coincid-

*I am thinking here of paintings and such examples as the series of ceramic portraits in the Tretiakov gallery, Moscow



> ences are rare and that is why Pudovkin almost always uses each actor in only one film. 42

The question of typage, variously understood, as that of the actor versus the non-actor, was commonly and vigorously debated in the film journals.[43](see chapter five, below),(ill.4.vii) Jay Leyda's note to 'Form and Content: Practice' says that "typage, as a term and as a method, might be defined as 'type-casting' of non-actors".[44] Such a practice had an ancient pedigree in the theatre for the casting of rustic or secondary characters according to facial physiognomy: in this tradition, Pudovkin and his assistant, Doller, cast non-professionals to play the prison guard and the 'babushki' mourning the death of Vlasov in Mother.(ill.4.viii) Such casting presumes upon a received notion of propriety, an abstracted average type to which a living human being is found to correspond naturally as closely as possible. This is casting for a socially amenable, plausible representation of everyday life. Whilst Pudovkin held with this requirement for surface realism, he found that non-actors did not generally suit his working method: contrary to the citations in some editions of Pudovkin's writings, Inkizhinov, like most of his performers, was a professional, previously for eight years tutor in biomechanics in Meierkhold's workshop.[45] Even the prison guard in Mother presented problems. Pudovkin's account is reminiscent of the difficulties of working with children and animals for Mechanics of the Brain. He also found that actors in conjunction with non-actors did not produce a satisfactory effect on film:

> ...as soon as I began to work with non-actors I immediately discovered that they are faced with a

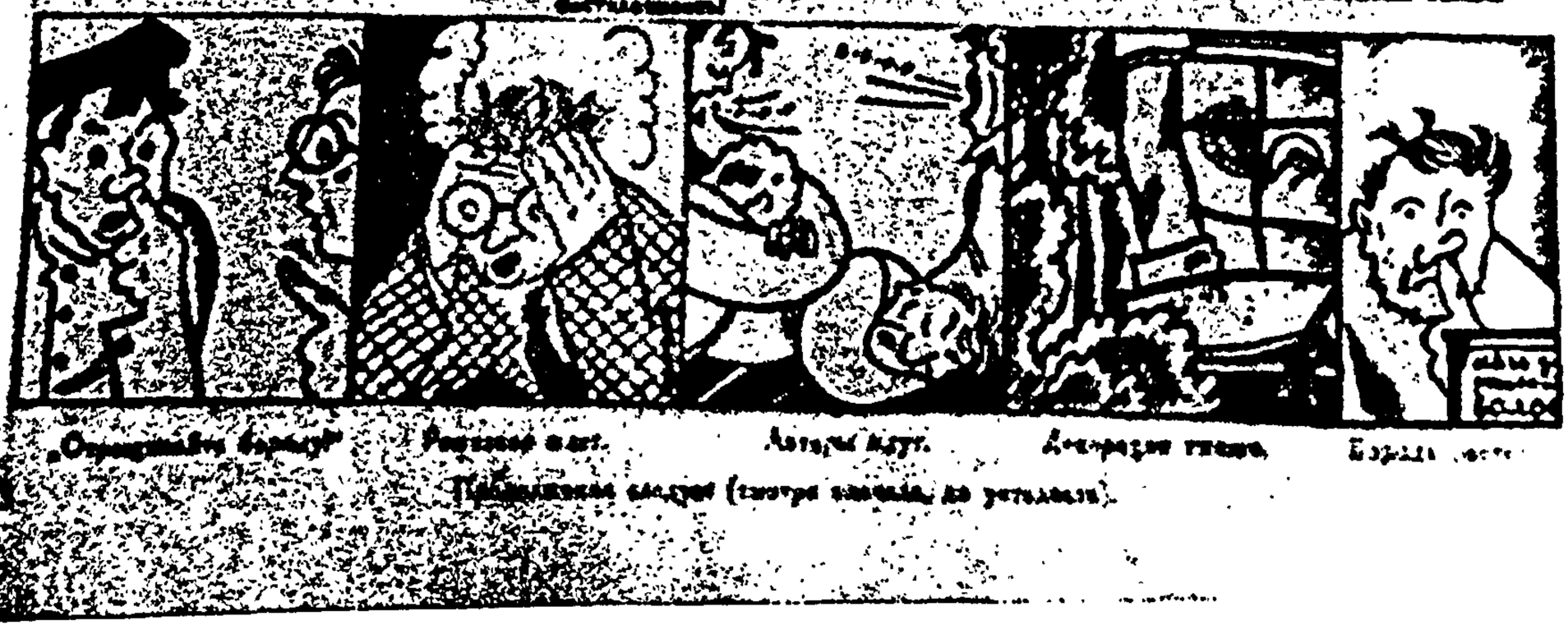
# РАССКАЗ о БОРОДЕ

Рисунки М. ГЕТМАНСКОГО

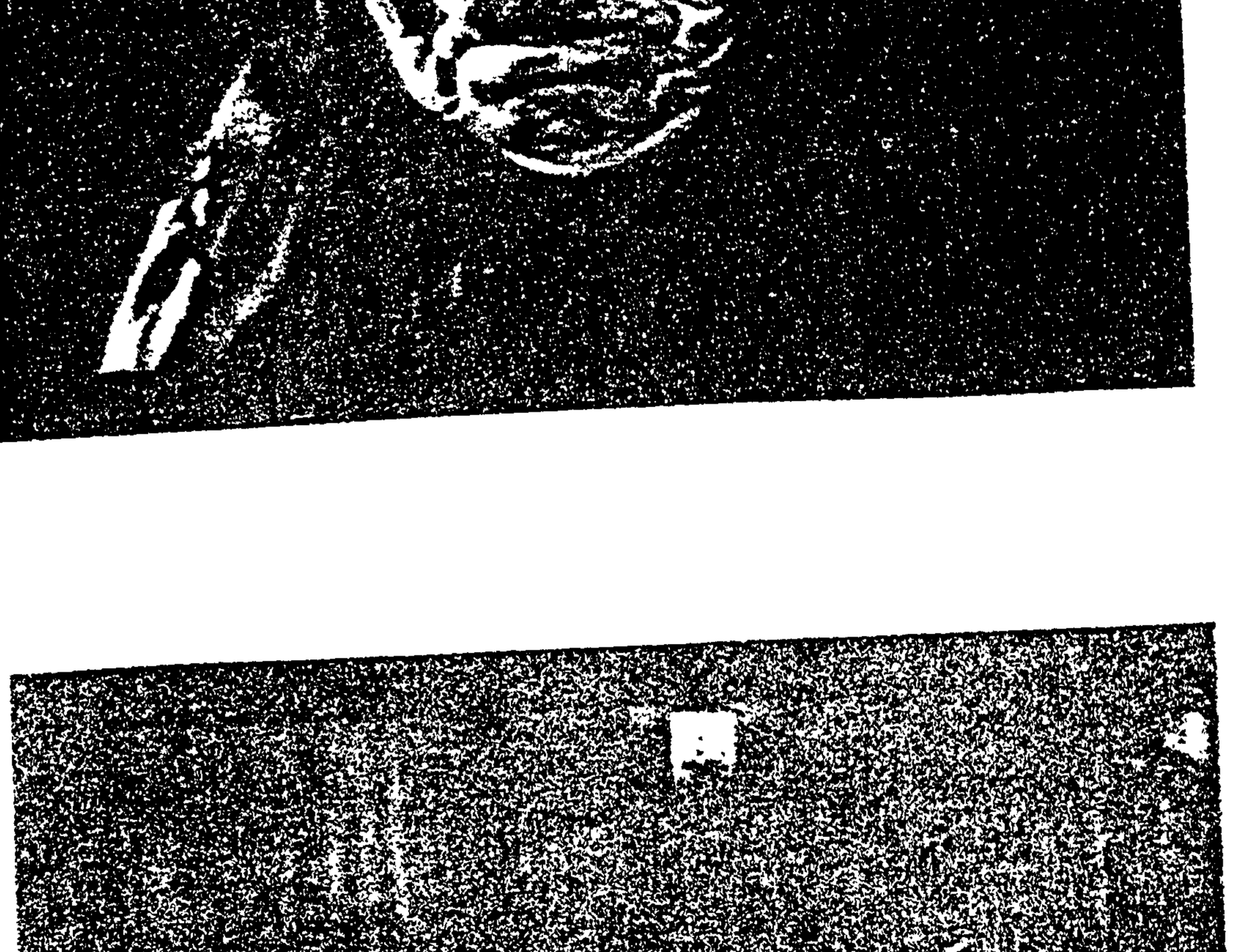
ПОСВЯЩАЕТСЯ ВСЕМ РЕЖИССЕРАМ, УВЛЕКАЮЩИМСЯ «ТИПАЖЕМ»


На одного подходящего. У всякого курьера была раньше своя борода. «Отрастайте бороду!»




4.vii.



number of difficulties which threaten to destroy the precious truth of their behaviour. The unusual surroundings, the conventional demands made by the producer, the presence of the camera- all this puts off and creates a stiffness which they have to be helped to overcome. Here I discovered the decisive importance, in getting a man to behave unselfconsciously, of a simple physical task which completely absorbs his attention and thus frees him from stiffness. It is particularly important to make him believe in the reality of the task he is set...
I was taking a 'type' in the part of a soldier on guard at the cell where the meeting of mother and son takes place. Beside the soldier I set a plate with remains of food in which a black beetle was stuck. I had thought at first that the juxtaposition of the vacant face of the soldier, of Batalov behind the bars, and of the unfortunate black beetle hopelessly caught in the mess of porridge would give a certain symbolic emphasis to the general atmosphere of the scene. But the figure of the soldier taken simply as a symbol would not merge with the truth of the scene. In order to enliven the static figure of the sentry, I suggested to the non-actor chosen for the part that he should push the black beetle into the porridge. He became extremely interested in this task and performed it very naturally. The result was most successful. Not only did the soldier come alive, but the very stupidity written on his face was transformed into action. 46

Conversely, Baranovskaia says that the 'babushki' in Mother were successful simply because they were required to do no more than be themselves, to sit "vacant-faced"; the middling actresses from central casting whom Doller had auditioned initially tended to act too strenuously, wringing their hands and so forth, and quite stole the show.[47]

Eisenstein's method, in contrast, persuaded him that he could use non-actors in major rôles, even to play the character of a real human being who had actually existed. He duly cast a non-actor who looked like Lenin to play the lead in October (1927). Critical and popular opinion judged the performance a failure: "I...protest in every possible way", wrote Maiakovskii,"against the portrayal of Lenin by various

similar-looking Nikandrovs. It is disgusting to watch someone striking attitudes like Lenin's and making similar body movements when...behind all this exterior, you can sense complete emptiness, a complete absence of thought...Nikandrov is not like Lenin but like all the statues of him".[48]

Eisenstein's notion of typage in 'Through Theatre to Cinema', 1934, also refers to a highly conventionalised theatrical tradition, but which equally employs audience expectations of a character instantly called forth by his or her appearance.[49] Such, for instance, were the seven stock types of Commedia dell'Arte validated on stage by their reference to and interaction with one another. In the conventions of Commedia, the mask adopted by an actor at the outset pre-supposes and prescribes a particular range of actions. In this these types are static. Eisenstein applies a similar set of conventional associations in the zoomorphic caricatures in The Strike: monkey, bulldog, fox, owl. Eisenstein makes no claim for a direct equivalence in the everyday. These figures are introduced "to create first and foremost an impression, the subjective impression of an observer, not the objective co-ordination of sign and essence actually comprising character".[50] Here, he casts for effect on his audience and not necessarily for empirical verisimilitude, he relies more on the immediate outward appearance than a process of performance and volunteers a distinction between type and character and personality.

These conventions use distortions of the natural world. "Why is it that all the world's lovers are curly-haired", railed Stanislavski, urging the actor to beware of

'stencils'.[51] The conflation of attributes or worth with physical appearance seems legitimate when it is clearly an artificial construction employed within an artificial environment, employed provisionally, opportunistically even. When an individual presents his or her features in everyday life, such a presumption constitutes determinacy. Some artificial constructions are materially self-evident, some are more self-effacing than others or, once supposed plausible are subsequently discredited: Eisenstein remarks that Lavater's physiognomy had been dismissed as a typology of representation by the time of Goethe; similarly Pavlov refuted Kretschmer's analysis of pathological types, disposed between cyclothymes (generally good) and schizothymes (generally bad). Kretschmer's Physik und Charakter (1921) posited an investigative scheme of visible manifestations: i)face and skull; ii)physique; iii)surface of body; iv)glands and intestines; v)measurement; vi)temporal; vii)summing up of physical states; viii)type of personality; ix)heredity. Significantly, Kretschmer cited illustrations from literature and portraiture in addition to actual examples.[52] Pavlov complained that Kretschmer's morphology was unduly and rigidly preoccupied with heredity and with unhealthy specimens. But Delsarte's System of Acting (in which Ronald Levaco finds yet another source for Eisenstein's thoughts on typage) produces a similar system of classification:[53]

> The head, which, as a division is mental, contains, however, in that mental three active and three passive zones, modifying the division:
> 1. "Frontal=mental"...The frontal zone includes the forehead and eyes...we refer to various degrees of illumination, of blindness, darkness and brilliancy in reference to the intellect- all of which illustrate the frontal zone as purely mental.

2. "Buccal=moral or volitional"...This zone includes the cheek and nose, "a keen-scented man" refers to one whose perceptions are keen. The nose reveals the will or desire. The noses of different nations reveal the leading desire of that nation: the Roman nose, conquest, cruelty; the Greek nose, ethics, beauty; the Turk's nose, sensuality, etc.
3. "Genal=vital"...The mouth is contained in this zone...a mouth-zone represents touch, taste and sound. All three are vital. 54

Kuleshov found Delsarte useful as an inventory, but cautioned that he was to be disregarded for method.[55] Delsarte finds it expedient to quote stereotypes (the Roman, the Greek, the Turk) without examining the worth or authority of the typological system which he tacitly invokes. Conversely, Darwin's The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals (1872) quotes the performances of actors to call upon a common currency of plausible appearance of public acceptability, corroborating what he has himself observed in his study of expression.[56] There is a danger (of which Darwin was aware) that this mutual mapping process was prescriptive. Thereby stereotypes become reinforced and imagination becomes 'stencilled'. Stereotypes are by definition, single figures which emerge from the conflation of different typological systems. But equally it could be suggested that all types are stereotypes, that one of the typological systems at work is simply better naturalised, more able to efface the artifice of its construction, all the better to legitimise the status of the other. Historically and culturally some systems are temporarily immune to interrogation, or criticism is constitutionally inhibited in the interests of personal or social stability and security: such, for instance, was the early Soviet typology of social class. Katerina Clark notes that Bolshevik characters in novels were

endowed with a variety of virtues (seriousness, calmness, simplicity); similarly aristocrats could become repositories of traits regarded as reprehensible: Lunacharski's The Salamander (1928) has a Prussian aristocrat who is simultaneously homosexual with a Jesuist priest as his consort.[57]

Pudovkin observes that professional actors can function as stereotypical ciphers in their own right if they assume characters originating from elsewhere, not emerging 'organically' from the scenario:

> How is a 'star' made use of and made in the bourgeois world? If an actor has been accepted by the public in some film owing to his manner of acting, this latter being in most cases almost a trick, then the producing unit does all in its power to preserve, as carefully and rigidly as possible, all those properties in the actor that appealed to the public, and to adjust to them, by any makeshift, any material...the 'star system' means no more than that the director presents the 'star', in his given discovered form, against some background dictated by his employers. An example of the kind is Adolph Menjou, who acted brilliantly under Chaplin's direction. In a series of further, already desperately stupid films, mechanically preserving unchanged the appearance and general scheme of his behaviour, he has gradually become a less and less interesting empty doll. [58]

However, here again a traditional distinction is made in practice by Pudovkin between major and minor players in the deliberacy with which reference to other rôles is found acceptable. In Storm over Asia, Ronald is instructed by his superior officer to round up the Mongolian cattle herds. In a classic pantomime aside, Boris Barnet, playing Ronald, bemoans "But I'm not a cowboy, I'm a soldier!", clearly citing his earlier casting as Jed in Kuleshov's Mr.West. Like the monkey, the bulldog, the fox and the owl in The Strike, stepping graphically out of the spatial diegesis of the frame, Ronald is allowed to step out of the fabula to add-

ress the audience, before becoming thoroughly re-integrated in the episode of Bair's execution.[59] Simultaneously, this assumption of complicity with the audience serves to draw it into the diegesis through his agency.

In Film Technique, following his mentor Kuleshov, Pudovkin says that the film director and actor endeavour to find not only a quintessentially typical physiognomy and expression but equally a gesture and shot which will convey the content of the scenario as efficiently and clearly as possible. Even in the later 'Acting: Two Phases' Pudovkin says: "The editing of separate camera angles in the cinema is the more vivid and expressive equivalent of the technique that obliges a stage actor, who has inwardly absorbed his acting image, to 'theatricalise' its outer form".[60] Indeed, to this end expression is sometimes transferred from the actor and is effected instead in the selection of a shot or series of camera angles. For instance, the Gorki original of Mother relates that the mother becomes increasingly distrustful of the arresting police officer; he seems shifty, whereas the look of the comrades is straight, "their eyes clear and bright".[61] The description apparently employs a typology shared with Delsarte. In the film, her growing distrust is conveyed in the evasion of direct address to camera in a series of shots; the eyes of the police officer (played by Pudovkin himself) are obscured by the skewed wire frames of his spectacles.[62](see chapter seven, below)

Pavlov's research into the inhibition and excitation of the nervous system is a classic and germane example of

the urge to define distinct types. Pavlov's theory of types is based on the dimensions along which the activity of the central nervous system, and hence personality, is conceived to vary: strength, mobility, equilibrium and plasticity of the two opposing processes of excitation and inhibition. (see chapter six, below) Provisionally, Pavlov adopted his typology from Hippocrates, using the terms sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic and melancholic.[63] In 1927 he presented his initial observations and described precise behavioural types in man:

> The choleric is the pugnacious type, passionate, easily and quickly irritated...To the melancholic, every event becomes an inhibitory agent; he believes in nothing, hopes for nothing, in everything he expects only grievances...The phlegmatic is self-contained and quiet, a persistent and steadfast toiler in life...The sanguine is energetic and very productive but only when his work is interesting.[64]

However, Pavlov was not always clear in his use of the term 'type', using it sometimes in a social sense, meaning phenotype or character, sometimes in a strictly physiological sense, meaning genotype or temperament. Occasionally, in addressing a general audience, he lapsed into a more casual commentary of his interests and would address a social subject: Pavlov equated the 'reflex of purpose' with the food instinct in self-preservation; he then "compared the Anglo-Saxon, who possessed the reflex of purpose to the highest degree with the Russian, in whom this reflex was developed poorly, if at all. Whereas an obstacle only serves to increase the determination of the Anglo-Saxon to achieve his aim, to a Russian, circumstances excuse and justify everything".[65](for Bekhterev's reply, see chapter three, above) In his 1918 lecture 'The Mind in general and the Russian

Mind in particular', Pavlov even made so bold as to condemn Bolshevism for the harm which it wrought on the individual and social constitution. However, Pavlov shared with the Bolsheviks the optimistic belief that individuals were not innately condemned by their genotype. On these grounds, he criticised the psycho-pathology of Kretschmer, as experimentally unproven determinacy. With suitable training, individuals could become the type of character which he and the authorities valued.

Katerina Clark identifies the Marxist spontaneity/ consciousness dichotomy as it is worked out in a number of Revolutionary novels. Similarly, the apportioning of nature and nurture in the development of behaviour was a long-standing subject for debate in Russian science and literature. "From the standpoint of reflexology", says Bekhterev, "man is not only a living organism but a 'bio-social being', acting in dependence not only on the natural but also on the social environment".[66] Especially of concern was the determination of criminality in an individual's actions: Bekhterev continues:

> Let us remember...the unfortunate problem of absolute freedom of will, a doctrine which has led mankind into serious errors concerning the eradication of evil and criminality...I have shown the complete dependency of the development of criminal actions on a totality of factors influencing the person at the moment of the crime as well as those which have influenced him earlier, even from birth, and lastly those which in their influence on the ancestors have determined the conditions of the conception of pre-natal life of that person. 67

What could be attributed to malicious intent (which could be punished) and what to ignorance (which would benefit from instruction) and what to innate wickedness (for which one could but offer prayers)? Such, for instance, is the sub-

stance of Dostoevski's Crime and Punishment and Notes from the Underground, also of Levin's dilemma in Anna Karenina. Dostoevski stages such a 'set-piece' discussion between Porfiry, Raskolnikov and Razumikhin of the circumstances for culpability and describes the conclusions of the examining magistrate and the judges at Raskolnikov's subsequent trial:

> At last some of them (especially those who had a smattering of psychology) admitted the possibility that he had never actually looked into the purse so did not know what was in it when he hid it under the stone. But the conclusion they drew from it was that the crime itself could only have been committed during temporary insanity...while the accused was suffering from a monomania of murder and robbery for the sake of murder and robbery without any ulterior motive or any consideration of personal gain. That fitted in very nicely with the latest fashionable theory of temporary insanity, which is so often applied to-day to certain types of criminals. Besides, Raskolnikov's old hypochondriac condition was proved by many witnesses. [68]

In Storm over Asia (The Descendant of Genghis Khan), the temperament of Bair is, I suggest, material to the course of events in the film.

Bair is the product of his tribal lineage and the natural environment which supports his tribe. The original silent version of Storm is considerably longer than the 1948 sonorised edition now commonly available in the West.* The opening sequences celebrate the shapes and atmosphere of the Baikal plains, the bare landscape, long, low horizons and rounded hills.[69] The trappers of the plains are shown laboriously trailing and stalking their prey, patiently waiting for the kill. All of this gives the film something of the

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*Tatiana Zapasnik and Adi Petrovich, Die Zeit in Großaufnahme (Berlin: 1983) 624, give the 1928 version as 3092 metres, the 1948 as 2425 metres.

quality of Flaherty's Nanook, released in Moscow in 1924.[70] "The mysterious barren lands- desolate, boulder-strewn, wind-swept- illimitable spaces which top the world", runs the film's first title. Of Nanook the Eskimo, Flaherty said:

> Here is a man who has less resources than any other man in the world. He lives in a desolation that no other ... race could possibly survive. His life is a constant fight against starvation. Nothing grows; he must depend utterly on what he can kill; and all this against the most terrifying of tyrants...the bitter climate of the North, the bitterest climate in the world. [71]

Indeed, Nanook died on an unsuccessful expedition shortly after the film was made. Bair's peaceful resilience is a natural adaptive trait, borne of the material relationship of his people with their habitat. "All life", determines Pavlov, "from that of the simplest to the most complex organism including man, is a long series of more and more complicated equilibrations with the outer world".[72] Tacitly an analogy is drawn between Bair as an historical type, like the boy in St.Petersburg and the Mother, shaped by significant events in which they participate actively, and Bair's character, as a product of temperamental disposition and experience. In Marxist terms, the conditions of production (Bair's life as a trapper) and contending productive forces (the sale of the fur, as the product of his labour) establish a basis for dramatic change.

There is propaganda value in this use of passive equilibrium and resignation. The character of Bair is constructed such that his type of temperament lends weight to the force effecting his awakening of conscience. In Deserter, Pudovkin goes yet further, effecting a political conversion in the central typical figure.[73] On the one hand, in not re-

sisting execution, Bair may be seen to be offering himself as a significant sacrifice. I tend to think that Bair's discounting of his individual self, his own self effacement, renders him less of an original hero in the popularist, Stenka Razin mould, and serves to make the later Bair all the more potent a figure. "Men make history", says Plekhanov, arguing the case for the individual, "and therefore the activities of individuals cannot help being important in history".[74] Such a device is by no means peculiar to the ideological purposes of Soviet film in the 1920's, endeavouring to affirm and maintain the state through a founding mythology in the recent and distant past, but it does here carry particular political and historical force.

The evolution of the character of Bair is effected as much in reactions to him as in his own gradual arousal to rampant anger and indignation: Mr.Hughes' floosie screams and quivers hysterically as Bair seizes the silver fox from her neck. Indeed, the spectators' sense of controlled rising tension renders the final explosive retaliation all the more forceful and emphatic. The camera is held on Bair, the anger intensifies as the condemned Mongolian calls to him: "save me, my brother!". An old man chews his lip in anticipation of an outburst when Hughes derisively throws down his pieces of silver for the fur: Bair looks down pensively, calmly, before decisively lashing out. Pudovkin is not, I contend, merely using the conspicuous expression in the reaction as an external sign juxtaposed with an inexpressive model (pace Kuleshov); Inkizhinov's taut reserve is significantly psychologised. The fish from the upset aquarium slither and squirm on the carpet around his bandaged head, as though the

inner turmoil is forcibly restrained and bound. "General historical circumstances are stronger than the strongest individuals", says Plekhanov. "For a great man the general character of his epoch is 'empirically given necessity'";

> When the consciousness of my lack of free will presents itself to me only in the form of the complete subjective and objective impossibility of acting differently from the way I am acting and when...my actions are to me most desirable of all other possible actions, then in my mind, necessity becomes identified with freedom and freedom with necessity; then I am unfree only in the sense that I cannot disturb this identity between freedom and necessity, I cannot oppose one to the other, cannot feel restrained of necessity- But such a lack of freedom is at the same time its fullest manifestation. 75

"Concrete potentiality", says Lukács, "is concerned with the dialectic between the individual's subjectivity and objective reality. The literary presentation of the latter thus implies a description of actual persons inhabiting a palpable, identifiable world. Only in the interaction of character and environment can the concrete potentiality of a particular individual be singled out from the 'bad infinity' of purely abstract potentialities and emerge as the determining potentility of just this individual at just this phase of his development...it is just the opposition between a man and his environment that determines the development of his personality".[76] In Storm over Asia, not all the oppressed choose to seize the possibility for release; some of the Mongolians are shown serving the forces of reaction. Bair marks a particular coincidence of circumstance.

Storm over Asia's attachment to reality goes beyond its use of genuine locations, native actors and real events in the recent past, (the announcement in the intertitles of

dates and known incidents). The source for Brik's screeplay in an actual anecdote is no more than fortuitous.[77] Whereas Vertov finds it sufficient to screen real people from everyday experience, Eisenstein expediently uses the real features of these individuals as a fixed and given type. The evolving process of Bair's enlightenment during the course of the film imitates a concept of historical reality as process. Storm stands between the theory of the individual in Plekhanov and the development of the theme in Lukács. Bair is at once historic individual and dynamic stereotype. Bair marks a coincidence of concurrent scientific and historical reality, but is still made to embrace a truth at the core of a myth.

1. Charles Darwin, The Origin of Species, 1865 (Chicago: 1975) ; for a discussion of current thinking on taxonomy see Marc Ereshevsky, ed.The Units of Evolution (London: 1992

2. Sheila Fitzpatrick, Education and Social Mobility in the Soviet Union (Cambridge: 1979) 23; see also V.M.Bekhterev, General Principles of Human Reflexology, trans.Murphy, (London: 1933) 206: "in 1924 the Leningrad Congress of Psychoneurology passed a resolution to introduce instruction in the science of behaviour of animals and man, studied from an objective standpoint, and the fundamental content of this science must be the investigation of those internal (biological, physico-chemical) and external (physical and social) factors which determine the development of the human being and his behaviour".

3. G.V.Plekhanov, The Rôle of the Individual in History, 1898 (London: 1940) 58 & 60.

4. for instance, the exhaustive study by Babitsky and Rimberg of heroes and villains in Soviet films arrives at an unremarkable conclusion: the majority of cinema goers (some with tickets subsidised for the Red Army) and the majority of screen heroes, are young and male: The Soviet Film Industry (New York: 1955) 230-233.

5. see Raymond Williams' lecture, 'On Realism', SEFT/ Screen, October 1976; also Georg Lukács, The Historical Novel (London: 1962) 15.

6. Maxim Gorki, My Universities (Harmondsworth: 19 ) 41.

7. Maxim Gorki, Mother trans.Isidore Schneider (N.J.: 1977); for a discussion of the new Bolshevik woman (leather belted coat and briefcase), as featured in Pudovkin's film updated adaptation, and her male counterpart (leather jacket and Mauser) as seen at the end of Mr.West, see Geoffrey Hosking, A History of the Soviet Union (London: 1990) 86, and Richard Stites, Russian Popular Culture (Cambridge: 1992

8. Richard Stites, Revolutionary Dreams (Oxford: 1989) 131; see also Hosking, op.cit. 93-96, enumerating the variety of peoples in the empire.

9. Judith Mayne, Kino and the Woman Question (Columbus 1989) 26; for her revised views of spectatorship, see Linda Williams, Viewing Positions (New Brunswick: 1995)

10. Barbara Evans Clements, 'The Birth of the New Soviet Woman', Gleason, Kenez, Stites eds.Bolshevik Culture (Bloomington: 1985) 220: "In 1920, 66,000 women were serving in the Red Army [2%]"; see also Beatrice Farnsworth's contribution to the same volume, and Maya Turovskaya in Lynne Attwood, ed. Red Women on the Silver Screen (London: 1993)

11. Evans Clements, op.cit. 225.

12. René Marchand and Pierre Weinstein, Le Cinéma (Paris: 1927) 64,79 & 118.

13. Brandon Taylor, Art and Literature under the Bolsheviks II (London: 1992) 71.

14. Iutkevich, interviewed by Luda and Jean Schnitzer, Poudovkine (Paris: 1966) 159.

15. L.Rusanova, Pudovkin (Moscow: 1939) 26.

16. Jean and Luda Schnitzer, Cinema in Revolution trans. Robinson (London: 1973) 146;
thanks to the technical department of the NMPFT for suggest-
the camera to which Golovnia refers; see also Barry Salt, Film Styles and Technology (London: 1992) 157.

17. Léon Trotski. Literature and Revolution, 1924 (Michigan: 1960) 230.

18. Mother, 391.

19. Osip Brik,'Theory and Practice of a Script Writer',in Screen 15.3 (1974).

20. Babitsky and Rimberg, op.cit.272.

21. the foreign powers were suspicious of and hostile to the Bolsheviks but did not care for Tsarism either; for a discussion of the various interests involved (and explanations as to why the depiction of British involvement caused political embarrassment on the home front), see Richard Luckett, The White Generals (London: 1971); John Bradley, Allied Intervention in Russia (London: 1968); John Swettenham, Allied Intervention in Russia (London: 1967); Arthur Ransome, Six Weeks in Russia (London: 1919) and Richard H.Ullman, Britain and the Russian Civil War (Princeton: 1968).
Screening of Storm was suppressed in Ontario and Australia, following a request from the Colonial Office: see Tom Dewe Mathews, Censored (London: 1994) 85.
Is the image of the British officer, silhouetted like a bronze statue against flames particularly tsarist, or rather a generalised symbol of imperialist autocracy before which Hughes, a mere merchant, is cowed? I think the latter...

22. see Hosking, op.cit. 43.

23. James von Geldern, Bolshevik Festivals (London: 1993) 67; see also Tolstoy, Bibikova, Cooke, Street Art of the Revolution (London: 1984)

24. IFF, 166: "We used comedy, circus, lubok, farce...We had all sorts of interesting scenes, like a lubok".
[An interview with Alexander Medvedkin]

25. von Geldern, op.cit. 100.

26. Léon Trotski, op.cit. 15.

27. qu. Jeffrey Brooks, When Russia learned to Read (Princeton: 1985) 228.

28. Carles J.Halperin, Russia and the Golden Horde (London: 1987) vii.

29. Marco Polo, The Travels, trans.Ronald Latham (Harmondsworth: 1979) 93; see 97 for a description of the nomadic and pastoral life of the Mongols. Polo was in the service of Kubilai Khan in China and his account may be not impartial; he is also so hedged about with mythology himself that he may not be an entirely reliable source for quotation.

30. Halperin, op.cit. 104 & 107; see also his 'George Vernadsky, Eurasianism, the Mongols and Russia', Slavic Review 41.3 (1982).

31. Dmitri and Vladimir Shlapentokh, Soviet Cinematography (New York: 1993) 93; also Andy Webb's report,Radio 4, From our own Correspondent 3rd.June 1995 re Genghis Khan now officially adopted as a great strategist and unifying leader

32. see von Geldern, op.cit. 77 and Stites (1992) 31 & 57.

33. Ian Christie and Julian Graffy, Protazanov (London: 1993)

34. Brooks, op.cit. 174.

35. Michael Cherniavsky, Tsar and People (New York: 1969) 18; also Gates of Mystery V&A exhibition catalogue, 1994

36. Brooks, op.cit. 177.

37. Linda J.Ivanits, Russian Folk Belief (New York: 1992) 21

38. Valeri Inkizhinov, 'Les Souvenirs d'Inkijinoff', Cinéma 167 (1972) 116, re his father being enormously helpful on location

39. ibid. 125.

40. Mother 21-22.

41. Elena Barkhatova, 'Realism and Document', David Elliott, ed.Photography in Russia (London: 1992);there were also cheaper versions of such pictures, more widely available: see Stites (1992) 26 "A postcard series called 'Russian Types' offered images (often distorted) that helped people 'envision' social categories". These would appear to provide the model for Kuleshov's wonderful 'Bolshevik Barbarities' in Mr.West.

42. SME I, 200.

43. see, for instance, Konstantin Derzhavin's contribution 'Akter ili naturshchik' in Art-Ekran (1923) 5, 4 and Kino-Front 9 & 10 editorials, written à la Punin; the 'Rasskaz o Borode' is taken from Sovetskii Ekran 22 1st.June 1926.

44. Sergei Eisenstein, The Film Sense (London: 1968) 135.

45. see, for instance, Sight & Sound XXII (1953), refering to "Inkizhinov, who had never acted before, the trapper-king of'Storm over Asia'".

46. ibid. 118.

47. Vera Baranovskaia, 'Akter dramy v kino', Sovetskii Kino 38 (21st.Sept.1926) 4.

48. FF, 174; originally Maiakovskii 'O kino', 7th.Nov. 1927.

49. Sergei Eisenstein, Film Form (New York: 1949) 8.

50. 'Film Form: new problems' ibid. 127.

51. Konstantin Stanislavski, My Life in Art trans.Reynolds Hapgood (London: 1948) 121,193 & 246.

52. Ernst Kretschmer, Physique and Character, 1921 (New York: 1970) 5.

53. Ronald Levaco, Kuleshov on Film (Berkeley: 1974)

54. Genevieve Stebbins, Delsarte System of Expression (New York: 1977) 119; writing in 1895, Delsarte's arch acolyte Stebbins remarks: "There is a certain amount of truth in physiognomy and phrenology; and in life the student of expression will find an added interest by scutinising the faces and heads of chance acquaintances". Stebbins advises "gumption" as a check on the excesses of such systems.

55. Levaco, op.cit. 107.

56. Charles Darwin, The Expression of the Emotions 1872, (Chicago: 1965) 358. Darwin cites performances and authors' descriptions: Tennyson, Shakespeare, Dickens. Darwin's French colleague Duchenne also drew upon the authoritative delivery of actors: see Nadar's photographs of the younger Barrault in Nadar- les années créatrices, catalogue of exhibition at the Musée d'Orsay (Paris: 1994) and G.B.Duchenne, The Mechanism of Human Facial Expression, trans.Cuthbertson (Cambridge: 1990); also Paul Ekman, ed.Darwin and Facial Expression (London: 1973)

57. A.L.Tait, 'The Literary Works of A.V.Lunacharski' Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge U, 1971; the film Salamander dir.Doller was a German co-production and was intended to further the acting career of Lunacharski's wife; not surprisingly, the film was rejected in Germany and Austria. See 'Les rapports avec l'Allemagne', Aïcha Kherroubi, Le Studio Mejrabpom ed., (Paris: 1996)

58. FA,

59. There are precedents for this 'stepping-out' in contemporary cartoons, with which the voraciously eclectic Eisenstein was doubtless familiar; see David Kunzle, History of the Comic Strip II,(Berkeley: 1990) 368.

60. V.I.Pudovkin, 'Film Acting: Two Phases',.Theatre Workshop (1936) 1.1, 61.

61. Mother, 53.

62. A.Mariamov, Pudowkin (Berlin: 1958) 122.

63. Hippocrates, trans.W.H.S.Jones (London: 1923) IV, 'The Nature of Man' gives the four constituents as yellow bile, black bile, phlegm and blood. Hippocrates believes that these are held in balance in man as a unity but that the predominance of any one constituent in relation to the others can vary with the seasons. In 'Airs Waters Places'v.I Hippocrates contrasts the character of the Scythians with that of the Egyptians, as a product of climate.

64. Jeffrey Gray, ed.Pavlov's Typology (Oxford: 1964) 19.

65. qu.Boris Babkin, Pavlov: A Biography (London: 1951) 102.

66. Bekhterev, op.cit. 33.

67. ibid. 63.

68. Dostoevski, Crime and Punishment, trans.Magarshack (Harmondsworth: 1951) 272 & 544.

69. Anatoli Golovnia, La luce nell'arte dell'operatore (Rome: 1951) 256-7.

70. Kristin Thompson, 'Government Policies and Practical Necessities', Anna Lawton, ed.The Red Screen (London: 1992) 33.

71. Arthur Calder-Marshall, The Innocent Eye (London: 1963) 77.

72. I.P.Pavlov,

73. for a discussion of this as a standard device in political film-making see Folke Isaksson and Leif Furhammar, Politics and Film (London: 1971) and Ellul, Propaganda

74. Plekhanov, op.cit. 23.

75. ibid. 16.

76. Georg Lukàcs, The Meaning of Contemporary Realism (London: 1962) 23.

77. Brik based his screenplay on a story by Novokshenov, after a chance meeting with him at the Writers' Club; an additional source, suggests Rostov, was a number of anecdotes told by Ashuyev (see Peter Dart, Pudovkin's Films and Film Theory New York: 1974 66.)

## 5. Between Stanislavski and the model

Pudovkin's contemporaries in the Soviet avant-garde noted, generally with disappointment, a stylistic shift from his performances as 'naturshchik' for Kuleshov and his experimental directorial work in the mid 1920's to a supposedly more conservative approach adopted from the mid 1930's onwards. (see chapter two, above) By 1931, Pudovkin was renouncing publicly the earlier devotion to montage as obsessive and "obsolete when considered in relation to the rapid growth of Soviet film technique".[1] His acknowledgement of a preoccupation with formal issues, at the expense of charcter and plot development, appears to endorse the position adopted by Dinamov (and later Shumyatskii) and the official leaders of the Central Committee who had condemned Eisenstein, Dovzhenko and Vertov for barren intellectual aestheticism.[2] The first All Union Party conference on cinema in 1928 declared that the main criterion for evaluating formal and artistic qualities of films is the requirement that cinema furnish "a form that is intelligible to the millions". "The overvaluation of montage", said Shumyatskii, chairman of the centralised Soviet film organisation from 1930, "represents the primacy of form over content, the isolation of aesthetics from politics".[3] In 1929 Pudovkin joined the Communist Party and in 1935 it was he, and not Eisenstein, who was decorated as the doyen of cinematography.[4] According to Babitski and Rimberg,"Kuleshov never relinquished his artistic credo and always opposed the idea that the cinema should serve a narrow propaganda function, whereas Pudovkin devoted his great talent wholly to the service of the Party".[5] Certainly, late in life, he was pre-

pared to lend his name to documents which repeated the usual maxims: "Instead of showing a serious and important stage in the history of the Russian labour movement, the formalist freaks [in Strike] led spectators away from real life, confused and sometimes distorted the link of the films with actual historical reality".[6] When Sadoul, writing in the 1950's, accuses Pudovkin of naïveté, does he refer, with the benefit of hindsight, to his apparent complicity with the Stalinist régime or to the simplicity of his themes and their presentation if judged by the self-proclaimed progressivist agenda set by the 1920's avant-garde?[7] Conversely, can Pudovkin's espousal of Stanislavski be deemed opportune and progressive, in as much as the holism of the System appears to render it more amenable to work with speaking actors and sound, superseding techniques specific to or concomitant with silent film? The System presents itself as a useful tool for the actor and director faced with the exigencies of standard production procedure (shooting out of sequence, multiple takes); the emphasis under Shumyatskii on characterisation centred the director's attention upon the actor and required the skills of professionals.

Set against the agenda of the early 1920's, Pudovkin's espousal of Stanislavski can be deemed regressive, in that it returns to a model derived from the theatre, that art from which the 'new' cinema most vehemently sought to distance itself and, more especially, from a form of theatre regarded as outmoded. "All the younger generation and all the innovators were on our side then", recalls Eisenstein in 1927, "including the Futurists Meierkhold and Maiakovskii: ranged in bitter opposition against us were Stanislavski the

traditionalist and Tairov the opportunist".[8] In the mid 1920's, Stanislavski was out of favour with avant-garde artists and often with the state authorities: his 1927 production of Beaumarchais' The Marriage of Figaro was slated for his equivocally empathetic handling of the character of Count Almaviva.[9] The innovators were equally disdainful of pre-revolutionary Film d'Art cinema, for achieving nothing more than the mechanical recording of the "art of the actor". "The film remained", says Pudovkin in Kino-rezhisser i Kino-material, "but living photography. Art did not enter into the work of him who made it".[10]

The antipathy between cinema and theatre had been reinforced originally by common academic and critical hostility, and Stanislavski's own denial of cinema's unique artistic status and scepticism as to the possibility of the cinema becoming anything other than ancillary to the legitimate stage. In 1912 he had written:

> Theatre and cinema belong to different spheres and things by which the theatre excites, attracts and charms us can never be provided by cinema.... Theatre lives by the exchange of spiritual energy which goes continually back and forth between audience and actor; that contact of feeling that can unites actor and audience...That will never and can never occur in the cinema where the living actor is absent, where the flow of spiritual motions is effected by mechanical means. [11]

Meierkhold too had expressed resistance initially towards film.[12] However, Kuleshov, Pudovkin and the FEKS directors readily credited Foregger and more significantly Meierkhold and his pupil Eisenstein with innovative and experimental work from which cinema drew its own lessons or found complementary. Writing in 1934, on the occasion of Meierkhold's sixtieth birthday, Pudovkin says that he "brought theatre just to the limit beyond which cinema immediately began".[13]

Kuleshov defers to the precedent of Eisenstein's episodic presentation of Enough Simplicity....[14] Osip Brik, in his 1926 Sovetskii Ekran article 'Kino v teatre Meierkhol'da' (illustrated with pictures of Igor Il'inskii as Arkashi in Ostrovski's The Forest) says that the new theatre takes the theme and spirit of a play and not necessarily the entirety of the literary scenario; the play is conveyed by means of gesture, mime and intonation and is pieced together from separate episodes as is a film on the editing table.[15] In contrast, Pudovkin's later advocacy of Stanislavski quotes experiments conducted in the Pushkino barn and the Moscow Art Studio before the revolution and quotes from the System as it was taking shape before the 1920's rather than from Stanislavski's subsequent retractions and revisions.*[16] In his Akter v fil'me, Pudovkin seems to lift wholesale Stanislavski's quotations in My Life in Art from the old stage masters Coquelin and Karatigin.[17] Rather than citing concurrent practice, in 1938 Pudovkin refers or arrives at ideas long since discussed at first hand by Eisenstein: in 1924 Eisenstein had identified the theoretical usefulness of Rudolph Bode's notion of totality, according to which the body as an organic whole participates in the execution of every movement; in 1938 Pudovkin writes of the involvement of the whole body in a single gesture.[18] Pudovkin by the 1930's appears to seek to found a theory by looking 'safely' towards the past rather than, progressively, towards a hypothetical future.

.....

*having seen the chamber theatre in Stanislavski's house I wonder whether he intends this when he discusses the consequent new style of intimate performance, and not the studio proper.

Ultimately, are the terms regressive and progressive useful towards an understanding of Pudovkin's work? Can the influence of Stanislavski and Kuleshov upon Pudovkin be respectively, decisively thus represented or is this merely to repeat a prejudice rooted in an avant-garde hagiography? Is the tacit conflation of political and artistic credibility no more than a simplistic interpolation of Lenin's insistence on the necessity of the Party as the vanguard of the revolution? In 'Dogmatism and Freedom of Criticism' he states the basic premise: "The rôle of the vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory".[19] Does the division between two camps presume as unbreachable the contesting claims of the various Soviet factions and deny the number of possible positions that could be (and were) held with equal sincerity? My contention here is that, while Pudovkin may align himself theoretically on different occasions with one faction or another, in practice he is something of a hybrid.

James Naremore, in Acting in the Cinema, consistently casts Pudovkin as Stanislavski's "most ardent disciple".[20] Pudovkin maintains that the relationship was more one of convergence than conversion. Indeed, his claim that his position has been arrived at gradually, through trial and error and reflection upon personal experience suggests a mode of development of which Stanislavski himself would approve whole-heartedly. Pudovkin called upon his experience not only as a director but also as an actor with Perestiani (The Days of Struggle), Gardin (Hammer and Sickle), Trauberg and Kozintsev (New Babylon) and Otsep (The Living Corpse). In

Ivan the Terrible, says Eisenstein, Pudovkin committed himself to his rôle so thoroughly that he made himself ill.[21] Inkizhinov says that, although a poor actor himself, Pudovkin worked by demonstration. He acted in his own Mother and The End of St.Petersburg and with Kuleshov variously worked as actor, assistant director, scenarist and designer.[22] "Refracting theory through the prism of experience", Stanislavski and Pudovkin become similar in tone as much as in content.

Pudovkin retains his belief as to what constitutes the aims of art but apparently changes his mind about how this is to be best achieved. For Pudovkin, writing in 1926, "the highest valuation of a work of art is the experience of a real emotion", that is to say, it is to be evaluated according to its subjective effect.[23] Montage is recognised by Pudovkin as a powerful means towards this end: "editing is not merely a method of separate scenes or pieces but is a method that controls the 'psychological guidance' of the spectator".[24] He acknowledges the debt of all film-makers to Kuleshov as the first theoretician of montage: "We made films, Kuleshov made cinema", reads his preface to The Art of Cinema (1929).[25] Pudovkin continues in the 1920's to acknowledge the observations of Kuleshov on specific functions fundamental to their art, but begins to regard that which had previously been uniquely celebrated as now deleterious to the aims of that art. Pudovkin acknowledges that montage can effectively create a fictive, purposeful geography or temporal unity (for instance in the introduction of footage of the 1925 Moscow Chess Tournament in Chess Fever or the close-up of Trotski cut with Mr.West's viewing the Red Army

parade through binoculars).(see chapter seven, below) Pudovkin acknowledges also that film montage allows the director to construct the appearance of an entirely new human being who does not exist in reality, by assembling a sum of parts shot in close-up ('creative anatomy').[26] It is these individual shots which confirm Kuleshov in his attachment to reality. Pudovkin acknowledges that the performance of an actor can be rendered effectively (in Kuleshov's terms, with speed and economy) by its differentiation into essential elements taken separately and subsequent re-integration: "Between the natural event and its appearance upon the screen there is a marked difference. It is exactly this difference that makes the film an art. Guided by the director, the camera assumes the task of removing every superfluity and directing the attention of the spectator in such a way that he shall see only that which is significant and characteristic"; "The will of the director transforms and subdues reality in order to assemble the work out of it".[27] In 1929, speaking to a foreign audience, Pudovkin stresses that the exploration of montage is a course along which one might still usefully proceed.[28] However, in practice he had moved away from Kuleshov's example even if he had not yet wholly transferred his allegiance elsewhere. Inkizhinov reports Pudovkin's comments during Storm over Asia and their wariness of one another's methods:

> Valeri, you are the only example of an actor of Meierkhold who really has a truth on screen without equal- But I work strictly in the principles of my school and I renounce absolutely the method of Stanislavski, in total! [29]

By 1934 and the publication of Akter v fil'me, Pudovkin is placing the unity of an actor's performance, the

reality and integrity of the event, as a priority over efficiency. His respect for the "whole and life-like image" requires that technical obstacles to the rendition of an actor's performance as a whole be as far as possible counteracted. Stanislavski's method is advocated as a means of achieving unity and integrity of performance, of overcoming procedural interruptions which correspondingly threaten an impression of wholeness in the audience. Montage constitutes dismemberment of reality, Pudovkin adheres to the totality. (see chapter eight, below) In 1934, Pudovkin writes: "The realism of a representation increases as its approach to the complexity of an actual object and as its deepening by detail, but at the same time it must portray the object as part of a whole".[30] For Pudovkin, the actor acquires new significance and thereby priority as that unity through which emotion is at one and the same time conveyed and aroused. The actor becomes a figure of communion, of "spiritual exchange". Performance is accorded the creative prerogative in the realisation of the scenario, rather than editorial construction (as with Eisenstein). Pudovkin criticises the earlier de-valuation of the actor to the status of a mere shot-sign:

> The actor became, so to say, shuffled, sorted out, used, in effect, like an aeroplane, a motor-car, or a tree. Directors, in searching for the right methods of constructing a performance cinematographically, missed realising that to get fullest value in a performance, cinematographic or otherwise, by a living being, that living person must not only be eliminated in the process, must not only be preserved, but must be brought out. [31]

Pudovkin finds in cinema the fullest means of realising and validating the intentions of Stanislavski. It is as though Stanislavski had been frustrated and encumbered in his intentions rather than of his own volition had elected to

not use cinema, not to see in it the potential recognised by Pudovkin. Pudovkin finds that the cinema close-up maximises empathy between performance and audience; montage eye-line matches, rather than being no more than a particular instance of editorial concinnity, achieve the psychological communion and intensity of Stanislavski's ensemble on stage.

Pudovkin records that his reservations had been expressed, and his shift in position had been arrived at independently in practice, before they became codified in the later paean to Stanislavski. Vera Baranovskaia, a principal from Stanislavski's Moscow Art Theatre, remembered for Sovetskoe Kino 38 (1926) the trepidation with which she approached her work on Mother, unaccustomed as she was to the procedures of its director. The 'naturshchik' in avant-garde cinema, she relates, served as no more than a model unquestioningly carrying out the director's instructions ("Again from the beginning! To the right! To the left"), and less as a model for an artist's painting, drawn from life. She identifies the difficulty in film-acting of overcoming its practical exigencies, shooting a rôle in separate pieces and out of sequence, and says that the craft of the professional actor is that which enables him or her to master "mosaic work".[32] Pudovkin in 1934 repeats her formulation:

> In the cinema, exactly as in the theatre, we immediately come right up against the problem posed by the discontinuity of the actor's work being in direct contradiction with his need for a continuous creative 'living-into' and embodiment of the image played. 33

Inkizhinov repeats Baranovskaia's claim that Pudovkin was a director who respected the contribution of actors, unlike Eisenstein who was not concerned with their "lived exper-

ience" and who decided upon performances in advance.[34] Discussing Battleship Potemkin at the time of its release in 1925, Pudovkin had observed: "As far as the performances in the different rôles are concerned, everything is bad, apart from the almost static moments of people who are not acting. This is partly the fault of the director, who has not mastered his human material".[35] Critical reaction to Mother suggested that in 1926 Pudovkin had already acieved his own distinct and avowed aims. The reviewer from Kino remarked:

> The film Mother can be compared with Potemkin. The battleship, the first film of general significance produced by Soviet cinema, is a creative triumph for the director and cameraman. In this picture Eisenstein was able to demonstrate astonishing mastery in directing the mass and the magnificent art of montage. In Mother, in addition to these achievements, the triumph of the actors deserves just as much attention: they have been employed by their director to the full extent of their creative ability. [36]

The early writings of Kuleshov and Pudovkin can be said to be products of a scientistic 'Zeitgeist'. "Our exercises, our training", says Kuleshov, "were conceived according to fundamental laws extracted from the analysis of the structure of film, the camera and the human mechanism of the actor".[37] In such an atmosphere the writing of theoretical works was itself construed as a practical, productive activity engaged in by the artist as worker. In order to enhance his credibility, Pudovkin stakes a similar claim for Stanislavski:

> Before Stanislavski...the majority had been content either to depict personal emotions or to formulate general principles of a poetic rather than scientific character...Stanislavski's great merit lies in the fact that the results of his theatrical analysis, scrupulously verified by experiment, have produced a number of objective principles

> which can serve every actor and every producer as a basis for methodical work... 38

Ironically, Pudovkin urges the case much further than his mentor ever did on his own behalf: Stanislavski's identification of the pressing need for a grammar governing the actor's work is reminiscent rather of the ambience of a previous age and, unlike Meierkhold, his contemporary, he concerns himself predominently with the actor rather than a systematisation of the entire dramatic event or experience (for instance, Meierkhold's $N=A'+A^2$).[39](see chapter nine, below) Indeed, he often felt the dichotomy between himself in a rôle and himself as his own director. Equally, Stanislavski is concerned that acting finds itself distinguished from music and painting in the absence of a codified technique, but is prompted more by a perceived lack in professional standing than by an endeavour to find some universal principle underpinning all the arts collectively. On his own behalf, Stanislavski says in My Life in Art: "In a series of variegated exercises I tried to develop...the inner rhythm of that unseen energy which calls out movement and action...These are purely practical methods and theses...it would be a mistake to look in them for any scientific bases from which I feel myself to be very far".[40] He is wont to stress that his initiation into the mysteries of his art has developed with profound introspection and soul-searching. "The superconscious is ruled by inspiration ...is that miracle without which there can be no true art and which is served by the conscious technique of the actor which I tried to establish...My system does good only when it becomes second nature of the actor, when he stops thinking of it consciously, when it begins to appear natural as

of itself...".[41]* Kuleshov and Stanislavski both hold with improvisation as a means of pre-empting hackneyed gestures and received habitual convention.

Although Stanislavski relates anecdotally the opinions offered to him by the audiences of his performances and the corresponding subsequent amendments, this is as nothing compared to the attempts at full-blown 'market research' undertaken by the avant-garde theatre and cinema of the 1920's. Meierkhold appointed a team of workers who clinically listed particular idiosyncracies and discrepancies in staging on each occasion, timed the lengths of scenes and described the audience profile in terms of class, age and gender.[42] The journals urged attention to rural audiences, likely to be witnessing cinema as a novelty, and Barnet's House on Trubnaia delightfully portrays the reactions of a peasant girl unaccustomed to urban entertainments.(see chapter two, above

Kuleshov attempts to legitimise his entire theory of montage

on the basis of his original observations of audience reac-

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*Mikhail Bulgakov nicely satirises the method in action: '"Tell Veshnyakova",' Toropetzkaia read out,'"that I have solved the problem of the part of Xenia...I was standing with Praskovia Fyodorovna on the bank of the Ganges and it came to me: the answer is that Veshnyakova should not enter through the big double doors centre-stage, but from the side, near the piano. She shouldn't forget that she has recently lost her husband and in her state of mind nothing would induce her to come in by the centre doors. She should walk like a nun, looking down at the floor and holding a little bunch of marguerites: so appropriate for a widow..."'.'God, how true! How profound!' cried Veshnyakova. 'It's true! Somehow I felt wrong coming through the big doors'...Ivan Vasilievich, after 55years of work as a director, had invented his famous 'method'- universally regarded as a creation of genius- which prescribes how an actor should prepare himself to play a part. I don't doubt for a moment that the method really is a work of genius, but the practical application of it reduced me to despair. [Black Snow 1965, (London: 1991) 87 & 162]

tions and an appeal to popularity with an exemplary statistical mean: "The public in cheaper theatres, less educated, much rougher and more spontaneous, was not as neurotic and therefore reacted much more directly to the effect of action and entertainment on the screen".[43] He noticed that American films most affected audiences and therefore adopted these as an object of study. It was remarked that it was action within and between frames which conspicuously characterised American cinema. It was action also which most markedly distinguished this cinema from the static staging of pre-revolutionary Russian cinema, from which Kuleshov distanced himself on all counts possible. Official interest in the cinema, as an industry, extended to the collection and collation of statistics on film reception and receipts and, as an instrument of instruction, to the monitoring in model conditions of the effects of various films directed at children.(see chapter three, above) In spite of Kuleshov's optimistic appeal to public preference it was readily demonstrable popular disaffection for much of the avant-garde product which prompted changes in official policy.

An enthusiasm for the metaphorical and utopian notion of a scientific laboratory in which the new society was to be developed was heralded in 1920's nomenclature: Kuleshov worked in a workshop (equating the activity with manual labour), frequently termed his laboratory.[44]* The image he hopes to evoke is of a team collectively dedicating their experimental endeavour towards a common, social good. Kuleshov lists as experiments the various preparatory episodes.

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*This romanticising of science is evident also in such films as Aelita, The Death Ray and Engineer Prait's Project

tasks and exercises undertaken by the group, sometimes later incorporated into a finished film. The laboratory also worked as a collective in a real sense, sharing and exchanging responsibilities. Although Stanislavski worked consistently with a familiar ensemble of actors, designers and musicians, informed of one another's activities and sharing their contribution to a production from the outset, this model is more akin to a traditional theatrical troupe, sat at the feet (as Bulgakov would have it) of its master.[45] Similarly, when Pudovkin suggests that actors be involved in the sum of procedures in the making of a film, this is to enable them to perform their particular designated rôles more effectively:

> ...the director must be the central organiser of a group of colleagues whose efforts are directed upon the goal mapped out by him. Collective work on a film is not just a concession to current practice, but a necessity that follows from the characteristic basic peculiarities of films. The American director is surrounded during his directorial work by a whole staff of colleagues, each of whom fulfils a sharply defined and delimited function. 46

Although Pudovkin and Zarkhi and Doller worked in alternation or collaboratively, there is little sign that impromptu interventions were welcomed welcomed from elsewhere: once determined, the scenario, "the hard skeleton", absolutely governed its realisation by the group as a whole. Baranovskaia says that discoveries made in rehearsals could be accommodated, but the instances she cites do not extend beyond details of performance.[47]

Léon Moussinac, in Le Cinéma Soviétique (1928) says that abstract experimental cinema as it was known in Paris

and Berlin (Richter, Eggeling, Delluc, Dulac et al) was not considered relevant by Soviet film-makers to the practical urgencies and necessities of the revolution. Indeed, much of Kuleshov's experimentation was prompted by mundane constraint as much as by a fervent spirit of enquiry. Kuleshov made 'films on paper' in the absence of stock. He blocked and performed a 'film without film' in which actors' movements before a fixed camera, and the duration of those movements, corresponded exactly to their envisaged fixing on film.[48] Kuleshov suggested that this would avoid the waste of re-takes and of cutting between multiple-camera positions and that it would also encourage the sponsorship of films by giving potential financiers a very clear idea of the final product to which they were being invited to commit themselves. However, Pudovkin remarks on the very limited applicability of the procedure, its failure to match the demands of scenarios covering a variety of locations and a large cast. It was confined to orthogonal framing. Sometimes, Kuleshov's experiments serve no purpose other than to summarise current procedure and to demonstrate the adequacy of the 'new' medium to realise phenomena evinced in other forms elsewhere. Kuleshov nevertheless declares the phenomena themselves to be uniquely novel in cinema.(see chapter seven, below)

It is to Pudovkin, as Kuleshov's assistant, that subsequent film theorists have turned for an account of the most famous of the experiments and the supposed derivation of the Kuleshov 'effect'. Sometimes the experiment is described incorrectly, sometimes it is incorrectly ascribed to Pudovkin himself.[49] Generally, the 'effect' is quoted as

tacitly proven, as if the experiment itself was impervious or no longer worthy of interrogation. Ironically, directors to whom use of the 'effect' (as a cinematic device) is credited have sometimes denied knowledge of the experiment (Bresson, for instance).[50] In later life, Kuleshov himself claimed that nothing survived and that he had forgotten its details, refuting the claims of others to hold a photographic record of the event.[51] Here follows Pudovkin's account, delivered in a lecture in 1929:

> Kuleshov and I made an interesting experiment. We took from some film or other several close-ups of the well-known Russian actor, Mozhukin. We chose close-ups which were static and which did not express any feeling at all: quiet close-ups. We joined these close-ups, which were all similar, with other bits of film in three different combinations. In the first combination the close-up of Mozhukin was immediately followed by a shot of a plate of soup standing on a table. It was obvious and certain that Mozhukin was looking at this soup. In the second combination the face of Mozhukin was joined to shots showing a coffin in which lay a dead woman. In the third the close-up was followed by a shot of a little girl playing with a funny toy bear. When we showed the three combinations to an audience which had not been let into the secret the result was terrific. The public raved about the acting of the artist. They pointed out the heavy pensiveness of his mood over the forgotten soup, were touched and moved by the deep sorrow with which he looked on the dead woman, and admired the light, happy smile with which he surveyed the girl at play. But we knew that in all three cases the face was exactly the same. 52

Pudovkin left the workshop in 1925 to direct his own material. In The Art of the Cinema (1929) Kuleshov provides an account at variance with that of his assistant. It could be the account of an entirely separate encounter:

> We had an argument about whether the particular psychological state an actor experiences is dependent or not on montage. There were those who said that here is something which could not be altered by montage. We had a dispute with a certain famous actor to whom we said: Imagine this scene: a man, sitting in jail for a long time, is starving because he is not given anything to eat;

> he is brought a plate of soup, is delighted by it and gulps it down. Imagine another scene: a man in jail is given food, fed well, full to capacity but he longs for his freedom, for the sight of birds, the sunlight, houses, clouds. A door is opened for him. He is led out onto the street and he sees birds, clouds, sunlight and houses and is extremely pleased by the sight. And so, we asked the actor: will the face reacting to the soup and the face reacting to the sun appear the same on film or not? We were answered disdainfully: it is clear to anyone that the reaction to the soup and the reaction to freedom will be totally different. Then we shot these two sequences and regardless of how I transposed those shots and how they were examined, no one was able to perceive any difference in the face of this actor, in spite of the fact that his performance in each shot was absolutely different. With correct montage, even if one takes the performance of an actor directed at something quite different, it will still reach the viewer in the way intended by the editor because the viewer himself will complete the sequence and see that which is suggested to him by montage.
> I saw this scene, I think, in a film by Razumny:* a priest's house, with a portrait of Nicholas II hanging on the wall; the village is taken by the Red Army, the frightened priest turns the portrait over and on the reverse side of the portrait is the smiling face of Lenin. However, this is a familiar portrait, a portrait in which Lenin is not smiling. But that spot in the film was so funny and it was so uproariously received by the public, that I, myself, scrutinising the portrait several times, saw the portrait of Lenin as smiling!...The montage was so edited that we involuntarily imbued a serious face with a changed expression characteristic of that playful moment. In other words, the the work of the actor was altered by means of montage. In this way, montage had a colossal influence on the effect of the material. It became apparent that it was possible to change the actor's work, his movements, his very behaviour, in either one direction or another, through montage. 53

The claim that these experiments conclusively prove anything seems to me highly spurious. Even Pudovkin offers the disclaimer that "the combination of various pieces in one or another order is not sufficient" and suggests that different lengths of film in combination yield different phenomenological and emotional effects on the spectator. The experiments

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*Having seen Razumny's Brigade Commander Ivanov (1923), I suspect that this is the film to which Kuleshov refers.

are unsatisfactory as science and seemingly produce results which, if not entirely contradictory, are at least not simultaneously sustainable.

Pudovkin urged caution upon those who would seek to extrapolate a general theory from isolated examples of Kuleshov's studio practice, however interesting they may be in themselves. "What is a theory? It is experience codified... Pavlov conducted thousands of experiments minutely controlled and studied".[54] Amongst the characteristics of Pavlov's research which rendered it an exemplary model to his fellow scientists were the length of time for which his team worked with particular subjects, the detailed and independent analysis of individual idiosyncracies (allowing a single aberrant instance to jettison a hitherto established theory) and insistence on the exact definition of terms.(see chapter three, above) Set against this paradigm, the Kuleshov experiment (or experiments) make a poor showing. To how many people did Kuleshov show the film or films and how was the audience constituted? As Tsivian observes, the notion of the experiment casts its audience as an uninitiated tabula rasa, but the most basic conventions of story reading, that is to say, an established customary handling of pictorial or written text, predisposes the spectator to project one image forwards onto the next. He suggests that classic conventions of shot/reverse shot editing were by the 1920's thoroughly naturalised in the Soviet audience.[55] Similarly familiar was the facial close-up as used by D.W.Griffith, as a prelude to the exhibition of the object contemplated.(see chapter eight below) A desire to read a causal relationship between images may proscribe the option of finding a contiguous pairing

void of meaning. Surely, the desire of the spectator to make sense of the 'new woman' assembly and the priority inherently given to a particular interpretation are equally operative as the fact of temporal linkage of the parts. Elsewhere, Pudovkin noted that juxtapositions were susceptible of different interpretations according to the ordering of the sequence.[56] Béla Balázs says that the face in close-up has a peculiar effect on the viewer, who sees it as pure physiognomy, abstracted from a spatial context.[57]

The use of footage of the famous actor raises additional objections. Mozzhukin was well known and lauded in the pre-war cinema for his 'full' style, his formidable gaze and mesmerising intensity, the concentrated static internalisation of emotion. "The stare works in reverse, offering a window into the protagonist's (usually) tortured psyche... the audience is invited to imagine what has gone before and within: a sign of subjectivity".[58] This seems remote from the use of blank models, in themselves supposedly of no significance, mannequins on which the director by choice or necessity hangs a chosen meaning by the conjunction with external material. This, however, is the sense in which the experiment is commonly invoked. Pudovkin himself contrived such a performance in Otsep's The Living Corpse.[59] (ill.5.i) In spite of Kuleshov's contention that "in either one direction or another" it was possible to change the actor's work, as the accounts stand they appear to demonstrate distinct phenomena: 1) subject to his own qualification, Pudovkin shows that a particular facial arrangement of the actor Mozhukin in close-up was retrospectively perceived and interpreted differently according to the different proceeding

images; 2) Kuleshov says that the effect of editing particular images can overrule an actor's effective performance, included as an image in that sequence (endorsing his claim elsewhere that, in cinema, the editor held the prerogative); 3) Kuleshov says the general ambience of a sequence, which he does not attach to any particular object or image in that sequence, was able to invade his perception of a particular image; he seems to interpret the picture of Lenin as acting in the sequence as if it were a picture of an actor, an objective equation of actor as 'filmic material' which, also, he makes elsewhere. The single common conclusion here seems to be that images in film are not viewed objectively, in isolation. Such apprehensions are not unique to film. Darwin too had observed in his 1872 Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals, that "...if from the nature of the circumstances we expect to see any expression, we readily imagine its presence".[60](see chapter one, above)

There is broad agreement between Kuleshov, Pudovkin and Stanislavski that an actor's training in the new society should differ appreciably from that under the old. Kuleshov and Pudovkin maintain that film, specifically, requires different skills. The new actor needs must work on himself before he embarks upon his rôle, even if the example as to what constitutes this work will differ according to the school in which he is trained. There is agreement on the preparatory training of the body as the tool of the actor. Under Stanislavski, the emphasis is negative, calling for personal discipline to overcome superfluity and to reign in "the anarchy of muscles".[61] Stanislavski advocates training

in the form of purgation. Although the contribution of intuition and the subconscious is highly valued in the trained actor, the behaviour of the body in spite of volition is more often to be discouraged in the uninitiated. Even though Stanislavski insisted on the right of the realm of theatre to remain apart from real life, to not become merely naturalised, he came to despise overt theatricality and "the theatre in the theatre".[62] He promoted a tendency in Russia and elsewhere for actors' performances to approach their audiences' experiences in everyday life. Simultaneously, this shift in taste and style, from what Roberta Pearson terms a "histrionic to a verisimilitudinous mode", was occurring in many of the foreign films imported after the revolution (Pearson founds her terminology on particular comparisons in Griffith).[63] Pudovkin even advances a claim on behalf of Stanislavski as a visionary precursor for the tendency in cinema, presuming for cinema a more adequate realisation and validation of Stanislavski's theatrical project. But although life-like credibility was claimed by the new medium as its particular preserve (sometimes as a virtue. sometimes as an impediment), constraints were imposed on the style of performance in order that its rendition on screen prove acceptable. Large gestures in front of the camera were functionally enlarged when screened and looked simply ridiculous when accompanying speech which could not be heard (Pudovkin cites the example of Moskvin in The Postmaster).[64] Stage make-up was to be discouraged (Vera Baranovskaia was induced to play Mother without make-up, and Sovetskoe Kino emphatically offers an illustration of her decked out in powder, pearls and feathers as a Film d'Art diva).[65] The sensation of the audience in the cinema of proximity

encouraged this tendency in the actor. In 'Stanislavski's System in the Cinema', Pudovkin writes:

> Owing to the closeness of the public and cast [in Loss of Hope] all exaggeration and gesture and intonation had to go and every half-tone and subtle nuance acquired extreme importance. The unusually intimate association between actor and spectator produced a feeling of particular sincerity and directness...it revealed to Stanislavski new possibilities of altering existing theatrical forms and transforming the stage performance into a more direct reflection of real life. 66

Kuleshov employs a relativity of modes (between 'histrionic' and 'verisimilitude') to comic effect in Mr.West. To say baldly, as does Lindley Hanlon, that Kuleshov's group overact, is to miss the point.[67] Mr.West himself is played as an ingénu, with child-like mannerisms like dropped-jaw gawping.[68](ill.5.iii) His naïveté is underscored by his inability to recognise in the ostentatious pretence of Zhban, the Princess and their cronies, the falsity of their story. Assuming that Mr.West sees what the audience sees simultaneously, one is amused that he could be so readily duped by the frenetic lip-biting and popping eye-balls of the Princess (played by the famously odd Alexandra Khokhlova), yet one appreciates also that Mr.West's credulity when confronted by 'The Barbarian horde' has been anticipated in his reading of the inflamatory catalogue of Soviet types. At the end of the film, Mr.West encounters the real Soviets: Trotski, the Red Army and the "leather-jacketed officer with the mauser at his hip".*(see chapter four, above) A similar contrast of style is employed to comic effect in Chess Fever

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*for the recurrence of this figure as a new Soviet type see Geoffrey Hosking, A History of the Soviet Union (London: 1990) 86; it also appears as a puppet in N+N+N (1924); when I visited Moscow in 1995, the museum of the Revolution on Tverskaia was showing a good selection of the actual article

5.iii.

5.iv.

(ill.5.v), between Fogel and Anna Zemtsova, and to dramatic effect in The Living Corpse.(ill.5.ii)

Under Kuleshov, the actor's mastery of his body is a positive attribute; indeed, its acquisition is a fundamental task which precedes any rôle. This can be set against a broader urge towards physical fitness and expertise as necessary skills of the 'new man' and 'new woman' in the building of Soviet society. Marchand and Weinstein, reporting in 1927, include acrobatics in the curriculum of the Leningrad Film School and Trauberg's directors' course, reported by Moussinac, included such one-to-one sports as fencing and boxing.[69] These improved carriage and balance and sharpened reflexes. Kuleshov and Inkizhinov boast of Barnet's talents in the workshop being nurtured by his previous training as a boxer. The circus was admired as a display of physical skill and agility in its performers as much as in its formal organisation, as a succession of such 'turns'. Such journals as Kino, teatr, sport (1923) endeavoured to cover all these activities equally, as spectacle. Members of Kuleshov's workshop performed their own stunts: he gives an account of a hazardous four-storey leap by Pudovkin.[70] Under Kuleshov, physical malleability is required of the actor in order that he can with ease undertake any move set by the director. For Kuleshov (theoretically) the actor is not an artist;

> the actor is subservient to the creative prerogative of the director assembling the montage pieces and thereby to the requirement of "optimal organisation" of shot for quick and easy apprehension by the cinema audience; the actor is no more and no less than a moving "shot sign", equivalent in communicative status to the prop

5.v.

"curiosity". A character can, indeed, be reduced to an essential sign, an isolated typical gesture (for instance, Zhban's finger-crooking in Mr.West). The shot is framed, the action is blocked and the workshop actor's body is trained to achieve graphic clarity, simplicity and economy of expression.[71] In 1926, Pudovkin reiterates the lesson learnt from his erstwhile master: "the...requirement, conditioned by the basic character itself of filmic spectacle, will probably exist for ever- the necessity for clarity".[72]

There is much in Kuleshov's exposition which is reminiscent of Meierkhold's exercises in Biomechanics. Indeed, the personnel of both collectives at one time worked in adjacent studios. Meierkhold similarly differentiates exercises involving actors by themselves ('drawing the bow') and together ('the leap onto the chest') into a series of basic moves. However, there seems to be a fundamental discrepancy between Kuleshov and Meierkhold as to the relationship bnetween the actor's ability to sign bodily a particular emotion effectively to an audience and the concomitant sensation of that emotion. Kuleshov, with Eisenstein, insisted that "the work of film actors be so constructed that it comprises the sum of organic movement with 'reliving' held to a minimum", appearing to hold with Diderot that the actor does not personally experience that which he conveys externally.[73] Stanislavski held that 'reliving', the rediscovery of emotion within the memory of his own experience, was crucial to the actor's art. The actor was to summon forth his memory to pre-empt convention. According to Meierkhold, there existed a reciprocal and reflexive relation between the physical exercise and the psychological state,

as though the experience which caused an expression equally could be effected in the actor in the undertaking of the prescribed posture.[74] There are sources for the system in Taylorism, in William James and in Pavlov, especially in the composition of the reflex: as sensation (initial withdrawal, refusal of action); cerebration; tendency to action. "Meierkhold was able to...[cause the actor] to automatically experience an entire gamut of emotions due to a constantly changing arrangement of his musclature. This would also enable the actor to precisely establish the relationship between his physical appearance and his own inner nervous feelings".[75]

In The Art of the Cinema, Kuleshov wrote that he preferred the movements of the real life stevedore loading sacks to those of any actor (Kamerni, Meierkholdian or Moscow Art Theatre).[76] It was something of a contemporary commonplace to celebrate in manual labour an aesthetic as much as a social value. The repetition of a given activity reduces the movement to an essential and typical standard denominator, to the least expenditure of physical effort required to accomplish the task.* The paring of human energy fits the individual into the general industrial equation, minimising time and motion maximises productivity. "The Table of Hours, it turns each one of us...into a six-wheeled epic hero...", crows Zamiatin. "No doubt about it, that Taylor was the genius of antiquity".[77] Gastev, Taylor's prominent and zealous Soviet acolyte, used photography in his

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*Current research into repetitive strain injury (notably on fishing trawlers, the closest instance I could find to stevedores) suggests that Kuleshov's confidence was misplaced.

laboratory to analyse the component parts of simple tasks (for instance, swinging a hammer). Any task,says Kuleshov, in terms derived from Taylor, can be rendered as a labour process.[78](see chapter one, above) Huntley Carter's 1924 survey of Soviet theatre and cinema is fancifully illustrated with stylised paper-cut figures, supposedly in Biomechanical postures, with the size of angle annotated between body and limb.(ill.5.vi) In practice it seems that Meierkhold's exercises were subject to individual variation and re-interpretation.[79]

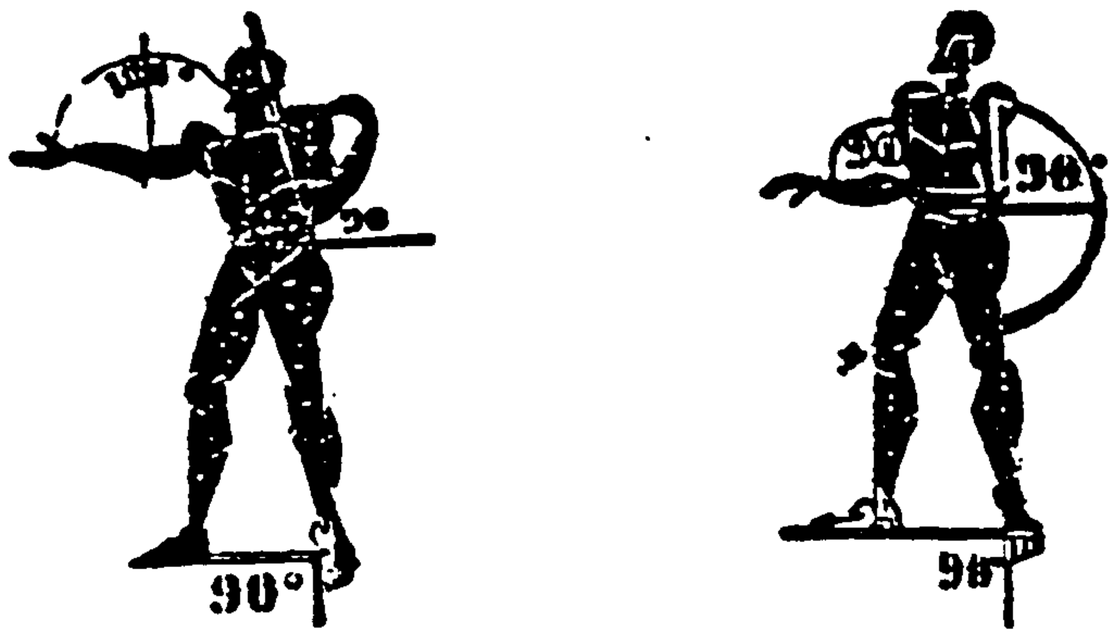
In the training schedule, the 'labour processes' correspond to unit tasks (sitting down at a table, opening a door). Only in the third year of Trauberg's curriculum were students allowed to progress to composite tasks and complete scenes.[80] For Kuleshov, the typical action is arrived at through improvisation, as though pre-logical spontaneity can short-cut the unthinking evolution of the stevedore's sack-lugging. This is preferred to inherited convention, but once the typical action is settled upon in rehearsal its repetition in performance is fixed. For Stanislavski, it was a function of the living actor that he be free to act spontaneously. Mikhail Iampolski has made much of the influence of the French stage theoretician Delsarte on pre- and post-revolutionary directors, quoting Anna Zaitseva-Selivanova (Pudovkin's wife-to-be) in an article testifying to a close familiarity with his writings as translated by Count Volkonski.[81] Delsartism is listed as a subject of study at the Leningrad school and was familiar to Eisenstein. Kuleshov himself insists that Delsarte's usefulness does not extend beyond "an inventory of the possible

# APPENDICES

## APPENDIX F

### *NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS*

The illustrations in this book have been chosen to follow the scheme of the book and to offer necessary explanations, especially technical ones. It is quite impossible in a single volume to describe at length the involved technical systems and processes at work in the New Russian theatre. But illustrations can do much to convey their nature and meaning. These technical explanations are demanded by a New theatre which is practically a new technique of the drama. That is to say, a theatre in which every thing—acting, stage, scenery, auditorium—is being reconstructed for a new technical purpose, namely, the expression of a new social style of thought and action which has developed since the Revolution. Each period of history has its manner or style. Thus there is the baroque, the rococco, the empire, the modern, and so on. To-day in Russia there is a distinct style known as the R.S.F.S.R. It is based on a line. Just as the rococco style was based on round and elliptical lines, so the Soviet style is based on a straight line. The geometrical principle of the straight line is the shortest distance between two points, and the R.S.F.S.R. style or straight line style is accordingly constructed on this principle.




TAYLORISED GESTURE in the Russian Theatre.
Two work diagrams of angles.

Actor pupils are expected to learn how to use their hands and feet on the above models. These two models show turning movements at 90 degrees.

In brief, the spirit of Taylorism—American Taylorism—has been accepted in Russia as the ideology of the new style. Taylorism is, as we know, a system of promoting the greatest efficiency in a worker. It is one that reduces the worker to an energy-saving automaton. This system is at work throughout the New theatre. A study of the illustrations, particularly those belonging to the Left Group section, will reveal the application of Taylorism and associated systems, such as bio-mechanics, to the work of the theatre, in particular acting.

changes in the human mechanism" and that it cannot be regarded as a method of acting.[82] In practice, one of the most wonderful things about the wonderfully odd Khokhlova (Kuleshov's muse) is her ability to strike a succession of distinct expressions and poses: witness, for instance, her performances in Mr.West, By the Law and The Female Journalist.[83] But Kuleshov inherits nothing of Delsarte's cabalism, nor his manic tripartite classifications (constitutional, passional and habitual gestures; Thought, Sensation, Emotion; Goodness, Beauty, Truth), nor his attachment to classical notions of beauty at the expense of the authentic expression of emotion.[84](see chapter seven, below) Although Delsarte, like Stanislavski, is prompted by the desire to codify an appropriate grammar of acting, Delsarte seems to be the epitome of the 'stencils' against which Stanislavski railed persistently (see chapter four, above):

> Standing in the lengths; the strong leg is back, its knee straight; the free leg in front, the knee also straight. The condition such a position represents is antagonistic; the sentiment, defiance, irritation, splenetic emotion. It also indicates self-assertion with an added element of defiance. Many men erroneously consider this position a manly one to assume. Remember, these attitudes are types...An attitude midway...[or mixed] ...partakes of the meaning of the two from which it is composed.
> Standing in the breadths; the free leg is slightly in the rear of the strong leg; the knee of the strong leg is straight; the free knee is bent; the toe of the free leg is on line with the instep-arch of the strong leg; the foot of the free leg is very much turned out; the heel of the free leg is raised a little from the ground, while the ball rests on the ground.
> The attitude should be unconstrained. It represents a suspensive condition, neutral, transitive, or colorless sentiments. It should be assumed when changing the direction of the lateral walk on the stage. 85

There is also broad agreement between Kuleshov, Pudovkin and Stanislavski in their rejection of the theatrical

staging popular under the ancien régime. They hold in contempt the artificiality of its painted back-cloths and its exhaustive clutter of knick-knackery. Predictably, Stanislavski's objections focus on the actor:

> What business have I, an actor, with the fact that behind me hangs a drop curtain painted by a great artist? I don't see it, it doesn't inspire me, it does not help me...it only forces me to be as talented as the background against which I am standing and which I do not see. Often this wonderful backdrop only interferes with me...Better give me one good armchair around which I will find an endless series of methods for the expression of my emotions...These palpable objects seen by us on stage are more necessary and important for us actors than...canvases separate from us... 86

Such objects may even be acquired in preparatory work (Stanislavski's famed expeditions) and employed in rehearsal to assist the actor in his development of a rôle.[87]* Kuleshov too stresses the careful selection of objects, but this concern is directed less towards the stage business enacted by an individual than towards the fast and clear signification to the audience of character or setting within a general schema. Here again, the minimum required to achieve the desired effect is to be preferred. Kuleshov quotes such "curiosities" as the coat hanger in a vase and glass elephant supplied by Rodchenko for The Female Journalist; in Mr.West the same table seemingly appears on several occasions, variously accompanied by a low slung washing line with washing (Zhban's garret) or a telephone and post-card size stars and stripes (the American Embassy); the sets for Engineer Prait's Project are similarly pared down and spartan. Kuleshov praises the example of the 'new' theatre to foreground

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*many of the less mangey and moth-eaten articles are still to be seen in Stanislavski's house-museum in Moscow

or oversize significant objects, and sometimes uses paint or cloth covering to deliberately flatten or diffuse variation in a background in order to clearly delineate and to focus attention on the object proper.[88](see chapter seven, below) Pudovkin sets Lebedev's desk in The End of St.Petersburg far back from the camera, the conspicuous expanse of polished parquet flooring in the foreground and the offices beyond conveying a sense of the industrialist's extensive command over property. With the advent of montage and the close-up cutaway, props and settings acquire a significance equivalent to that of performers: literally and metaphorically they can be made to figure as largely in the imagination. It is in this sense that, for Eisenstein, the dispute between actor and non-actor becomes pointless and that, for Arnheim, the stage prop can be said to perform as an actor.[89] Kuleshov, and especially Pudovkin, recognise that, with the advent of cinema, expression is no longer signified by the actor alone, that emotion can be conveyed and stirred by montage of a number of elements between and within shots as much as by an actor's performance.(see chapter six, below)

Equally, Kuleshov, Pudovkin and Stanislavski agree on the effectiveness of an appropriate and specific location. Consistent with his attachment to the objectively real as the raw material of film, Kuleshov says: "...if you shoot a film in Batum based on a story of the North Pole it will not work. What pertains to nature pertains also to people...".[90] Pudovkin's love of location shooting lies partly in the will to discover and document hitherto uncharted landscapes and to show these to an audience unfamiliar with the full extent of the new Soviet Empire. Hunger..Hunger..Hunger had been filmed

on location with Gardin in the Volga using non-actors, the opening sequences of The End of St.Petersburg were similarly shot in the Volga. As for using such locations as the backgrounds for scripted drama, he seems more concerned with the authenticity of representation and performance which the location prompted from the actors (professional or otherwise), for instance in filming Storm over Asia in Mongolian territory. He quotes Stanislavski's recollection of an impromptu rehearsal of a scene from A Month in the Country with Olga Knipper during a walk in the park and their subsequent amendment of its rendition on stage:"...the trees, the air the sun hinted to us of such real, beautiful and artistic truth which cannot...be compared to that which is created in us by the dead wings of a theatre".[91]

In practice, Kuleshov did not work with stevedores but with a close group of professionals: Pudovkin, Fogel, Barnet, Podobed, Khokhlova. However, he chooses not to make much of their familiarity with one another as a basis for sound collective work: their shared interests are represented theoretically as professional rather than personal. In practice, Pudovkin worked as a director with actors from a variety of backgrounds (Batalov had been used by Protazanov for Aelita; Baranovskaia came from MKhAT; Inkizhinov came via the Kuleshov workshop and, from 1916, tutor in Biomechanics with Meierkhold). However, Pudovkin says that his own training left him feeling ill-equipped initially to create the necessary rapport with artists themselves trained with Stanislavski. Endorsing Baranovskaia's reservations, he claims that he discovered the System through his acquaintance with

these artists as an effective means of establishing trust between themselves:

> On what could one base this confidence?...I still looked at actors from a formalist point of view, entirely externally...How could I reach the intelligence and the heart of those whom I had to direct, whom I had to guide in the creation of characters which still existed only in my imagination. How to find a common language? 92

Pudovkin says that the idea of "recollected emotion" was born in him in his creative work with these actors.

Pudovkin advocates Stanislavski as a means of drawing the reality of the everyday and ordinary into the artificial construction of the film and film-studio practice. Pudovkin invokes spontaneity or the quasi subconscious as a route to an act which will prove effective and effecting on screen:

> In the film Storm over Asia, I wanted to have a crowd of Mongols looking with rapture on a precious fox-fur. I engaged a Chinese conjuror and photographed the faces of the Mongols watching him ...Once I spent endless time and effort trying to obtain a good natured smile...when I photographed his face smiling at a joke I made, he had been firmly convinced that the shooting was over. 93

Pudovkin quotes for Mother the precedents of the court scene in Tolstoi's Resurrection and the hands of Mae Marsh in Intolerance:*"the actress was probably crying when she pinched the skin of her hands; she lived a full and real experience and was completely in the grip of the necessary emotion as a whole".[94] However, when it came to filming Baranovskaia in her rôle he sometimes found mannerisms performed by the actress, almost unselfconsciously, without deliberation, most suitable to his intentions:

.....

*Mae Marsh, Screen Acting (L.A.: 1921) 117, corroborates Pudovkin's suspicion: "Mr.Griffith is quick to appreciate the involuntary action of one of his actresses while a scene is being played or rehearsed. As, for instance, in the court room scene...(the mother and the law) when I began unconsciously to wring my handkerchief and press it to my face..".

> First I removed all that seemed to me superfluous and exaggerated and then I decided...to suggest that she should act this scene without making a single gesture or movement...then...I allowed the actress to make a single gesture which I had noticed among the many she had made in the beginning. It was a movement of the hand as of someone naïvely fending off some terrible threat. 95

Stanislavski's final legacy to Pudovkin rests in his almost lyrical exposition of the place of the film actor himself as a living breathing human being. For an audience the experience of watching a film should become, says Pudovkin in 1934, more like watching everyday, ordinary behaviour. "The final object of the actor and his performance is to convey to the spectator a real person, or at least a person who could conceivably exist in reality".[96] This is to say, that performance should be judged by its mimetic authenticity and credibility, in reference to something which resides outside the experience of the film. Pudovkin suggests also that the 'magic IF' of Stanislavski is a means whereby the actor can counteract the ruptures imposed upon the unity and integrity of his performance by shooting out of sequence and successive takes. Significantly enough, he never suggests a radical change in the procedures responsible for the disruption. However, by the time that Pudovkin writes Akter v fil'me, it is as though the entire institution is to be reproached for its removal from another 'everyday' life. Pudovkin quotes the Diderot paradox. By the time that Pudovkin writes Akter v fil'me, his theoretical concerns appear to have shifted from the act to the actor. When Pudovkin says that "...a living human individual is an individuality of at least a given profundity and complexity of its own", he refers surely less to a role as an external given which the actor is required to characterise than to the actor himself.[97]

1. V.I.Pudovkin, 'Scenario and Direction', Experimental Cinema 1.3 (February 1931) 16.

2. Paul Rotha, The Film till Now (London: 1951) 566.

3. IFF, 196.

4. Richard Taylor, Film Propaganda (London: 1979) 91.

5. Paul Babitski & John Rimberg, The Soviet Film Industry (New York: 1955) 122.

6. Pudovkin, Alexandrov, Piriev, Soviet Films: Principal Stages of Development (Bombay: 1951) 6.

7. Georges Sadoul, Recherches Soviétiques (Paris: 1956) intro.

8. SME I, 74.

9. Jean Benedetti, Stanislavski (London: 1988) 276.

10. FT, 52.

11. Stanislavski qu. Benedetti, op.cit., 193.

12. Edward Braun, Meyerhold on Theatre (London: 1969) 134.

13. V.I.Pudovkin, 'Meierkhol'd', Sovetskoe Iskusstvo 6, 5th.February 1934.

14. Ronald Levaco, ed.Kuleshov on Film (Berkeley: 1974) 164.

15. Osip Brik, 'Kino v teatre Meierkhol'da', Sovetskii Ekran 20, 18th.May 1926, 6.

16. Jean Benedetti, Stanislavski (London: 1982) 63.

17. FA, 114.

18. FF, 395.

19. V.I.Lenin, What is to be Done? 1902 (London: 1988) 82.

20. James Naremore, Acting in the Cinema (Berkeley: 1988) 2.

21. SME IV, 236.

22. for a complete list of Pudovkin's work see Peter Dart, Pudovkin's Films and Film Theory (New York: 1974); Glagoleva, Vsevolod Pudovkin: slovo o Pudovkine (Moscow: 1968) and Leyda

23. FT, 63.

24. FT, 45.

25. Levaco, op.cit.

26. FT, 117.

27. ibid., 82.

28. ibid., 143.

29. Valeri Inkizhinov, 'Les Souvenirs d'Inkijinoff' Cinéma (June 1972) 123.

30. FA, 112.

31. ibid., 37.

32. Vera Baranovskaia, 'Akter dramy v kino', Sovetskoe Kino 38 (21st.Sept. 1926) 4.

33. FA, 32.

34. Inkizhinov, op.cit., 115.

35. qu. Taylor (1979) 90.

36. Kino (11th.Oct. 1926); see also Mariamov, Wsewolod Pudowkin (Berlin: 1958) 126 qu. Pravda 21st.Oct. 1926; and ibid., 89.

37. Levaco,op.cit., 100.

38. V.I.Pudovkin, 'Stanislavski's System in the Cinema', Sight & Sound XXII (1953) 115.

39. Braun, op.cit.,

40. Konstantin Stanislavski, My Life in Art trans. J.J. Robbins (London: 1948) 561; 528 & 483.

41. ibid.,

42. Lars Kleberg, Theatre as Action (London:1993) 99; see also Robert Leach, Revolutionary Theatre (London: 1994)

43. Levaco, op.cit., 45.

44. see Richard Stites, Revolutionary Dreams (Cambridge: 1989) for a discussion of the distance between science fantasy and reality; also Loren Graham, ed. Science and the Soviet Social Order (London: 1990)

45. sometimes the film studio is idealised yet further, into something resembling a city state: see Moussinac, Le Cinéma Soviétique (Paris: 1928)

46. FT, 92.

47. Baranovskaia, op.cit., cites the same instance given by Pudovkin [note 95, below]

48. Moussinac, op.cit., 181; Levaco, op.cit.,

49. see, for instance, Hitchcock's reference in Naremore, op.cit., 240 and the apparently mangled version given by Brunius in Manvell, ed. Experiment in the Film (London: 1949) 62.

50. Lindley Hanlon, Fragments: Bresson's Film Style (London: 1986) 213.

51. Kuleshov interview, Cinema in Revolution, trans. Robinson (London:1973) 70.

52. FT, 140.

53. Levaco, op.cit., 54; Levaco identifies the Razumny film as The Beauty and the Bolshevik, which Kristin Thompson gives as the American release title for Ivanov.

54. Golovnia interview, Robinson, op.cit., 144.

55. Iuri Tsivian in Elsaesser, ed. Space Frame Narrative (London: 1990) 249-251.

56. FT, 45.

57. Béla Balázs, Theory of the Film (London: 1952) 61; Balázs was known to Pudovkin in Russian translation and was quoted by him

58. Ian Christie and Julian Graffy, Protazanov (London: 1993) 20.

59. B.F.I. Soviet Film catalogue, 3: 'The Living Corpse': "...a fascinating fusion of Soviet montage and German Expressionism. It influenced not only Lang, Carné and Prévert but also Bresson, with its stripped emotional style, mysterious autonomy given to objects and hypnotic insistence on eyes raised and lowered in a strange, silent communication. Pudovkin's performance is worth a special note. Influenced by the theory that the actor should become a puppet, a sign or a system of signs, to be incorporated into and completing the montage, Pudovkin remains virtually motionless and expressionless"
Pudovkin says that he drew his performance from Tolstoi: FA, 147; [see chapter two, below]

60. Charles Darwin, The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals (Chicago: 1965) 12.

61. Stanislavski, op.cit., 170.

62. ibid., 207.

63. Roberta Pearson, Eloquent Gestures (Berkeley: 1992) 37.

64. FT, 114.

65. Baranovskaia, op.cit.

66. Sight & Sound XXII, 115.

67. Lindley Hanlon, op.cit.,

68. see, for instance plate II in Darwin, op.cit.

69. Moussinac, op.cit., 127; René Marchand and Pierre Weinstein, le Cinéma (Paris: 1927) 159.

70. Levaco, op.cit., 173.

71. ibid., 58.

72. FT, 10.

73. Levaco, op.cit., 100.

74. Béatrice Picon-Vallin, Meyerhold (Paris: 1990) 109.

75. Mel Gordon, 'Meyerhold's Biomechanics' Drama Review 18.3 (1974) 77.

76. Levaco, op.cit., 99.

77. Evgenii Zamiatin, We trans. Brown (Harmondsworth: 1993) 13 & 34.

see also F.W.Taylor, The Principles of Scientific Management 1911,(New York: 1947) 79, for instructions on how best to lay bricks; Taylor's example is not as good as it seems as softening the mortar could well marr the stability of the wall...

78. Levaco, op.cit.,56.

79. the 1995 C.P.R. conference, 'Past Masters', brought together practioners of Biomechanics; see Jörg Bochow, Das Theater Meyerholds und Die Biomechanik (Berlin: 1997)

80. Moussinac, op.cit., 128.

81. IFF 33; see also François Albéra, ed. Vers une Théorie de l'Acteur (Lausanne: 1990)

82. Levaco, op.cit., 107.

83. SME I, 71.

84. for discussions of the privileging of aesthetic norms over authentic representation, see Lessing, Laöcoon 1766, trans. Phillimore (London: 1874) and Darwin, op.cit., qu. Charles Bell, Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression

85. Genevieve Stebbins, Delsarte System of Expression 1895, (New York: 1977) 147 & 148.

86. Stanislavski, op.cit.,262.

87. ibid., 395 & 413.

88. Levaco, op.cit., 73.

89. SME I, 151; Rudolph Arnheim, Film as Art (London: 1958) 186.

90. Levaco, op.cit., 63.

91. Stanislavski, op.cit., 383.

92. FA

93. FT, 142.

94. ibid., 119; see also Naremore, op.cit., 60.

95. Sight & Sound XXII, 117.

96. FA, 23.

97. FA, 36.

## 6. Dynamism, Plasticity and Organic Unity

"Early Soviet Marxism as a whole", says David Bordwell, "eagerly embraced Pavlov's reduction of all behaviour to material laws...Every science needs its...common denominator of measurement. For Pavlov, the reflex as a response to a stimulus constitutes such a common denominator...the reflex was seen as the elemental unit out of which all behaviour could be constructed".[1] Critics who have acknowledged the appropriation of Pavlov in Soviet thought have either referred to him gesturally as an example of objective psychology, or have concentrated unduly on the isolation and reductiveness of the reflex as a contained unit. Pavlov chose to work with digestive secretions not because he found these interesting in themselves but because they could could be produced readily and reliably; the salivation reflex is, he tells an audience in 1909, "strikingly specific".[2] (see chapter three, above) For Pavlov, the reflex was not so important as an object of discovery in its own right but as a tool by means of which the interaction of phenomena in a given body could be investigated and the reciprocal action of that body with its environment could be observed. Pavlov did not deny the possibility of idealist psychological explanations; like Bekhterev he simply protested that they were neither scientifically verifiable nor useful and did not yield an adequate moment of enquiry:

> Still, the importance of the unconscious in psychic life is, generally speaking, enormous... [but] it may be stated with conviction that, in its essence, psychic life does not offer any definite fulcrum for scientific analysis. [3]

The reflex articulates the organisation of material in move-

ment. It seems to me that the significance of Pavlov to the materialist project can be more fully understood in this more extensive appreciation of his work.

The attachment of Soviet Marxism to Pavlov lay largely in his usefulness in accounting for change, through time and across space. For Soviet Marxism, Pavlov's work was of material concern in the understanding it afforded of the integration of the individual in the dynamics of society, of history, of evolution in time and with the natural environment. "Along with strength, equilibrium and mobility", wrote Pavlov in 1935, "another very important property of the nervous system incessantly manifests itself- its high plasticity. Consequently, since this is a question of the innate type of nervous system, we must take into account all the influences to which the organism has been exposed from the day of its birth to the present moment".[4] Bekhterev similarly, in 1923, claimed for his 'reflexology' that:

> ...it investigates all manifestations of so-called psychic activity or the spiritual sphere from an objective standpoint and confines itself to the external peculiarities of the activity of man: his facial expression, his gestures, voice and speech as a coherent integration of signs in correlation with exciting external influences- physical, biological and social- but also with internal influences, regardless of whether either of these two types of influence is referable to the present or the past, even the very remote past. [5]

Lenin took his rendition of Nature from Engels, who in turn inherited it from Hegel: "There is no matter without movement any more than there is movement without matter...The study of the different forms of movement is therefore the essential object of the science of nature". In <u>On the Question of Dialectics</u> (1921), Lenin wrote:

> Dialectics is the science of general laws of motion, both of the external world and of human

> thought...as a doctrine of development concerning itself with forces and tendencies acting on a given body, phenomenon or society; the interdependence and close indissoluble connection between all aspects of any phenomenon; universal process of motion...that follows definite laws. 6

Marxism viewed science as a function of human activity derived from society as a whole and, in turn, insisted that Marxism was rooted in Nature. Soviet Marxism was not alone in stressing that movement was an essential function of Nature, but Lenin was especially concerned to render a Nature in which matter retained its objective reality and in which the continuum was clearly articulated around decisive moments. For Lenin, the reflex is decisive as a reaction between an internal organism and an external stimulus; the reflex marks the boundary between physical and psychical activity in the individual. But Lenin's Natural Philosophy has a political imperative: Materialism and Empirio-Criticism (1909) was written in direct response to the new physics' denial of the primacy of matter, and more specifically, to the Machians' claims to have constructed a more correct world view on the basis of this discovery of how the world is and has come to be. In 'The Relations of Mechanics to Physiology', Mach declares:

> The majority of natural inquirers ascribe to the intellect the implements of physics, to the concepts mass, force, atom etc., whose sole office is to revive economically arranged experiences, a reality beyond and independent of thought. Not only so, but it has even been held that these forces and masses are the real objects of inquiry and if once they were fully explored, all the rest would follow from equilibrium and motion of these masses...we should beware lest the intellectual machinery employed in the representation of the world on the stage of thought be regarded as the basis of the real world. 7

Mach advocates tolerance of an incomplete conception of the world and disputes the notion of cause and effect in nature;

he opposes the primacy which Lenin accords to matter: "Space and time are ordered systems of sets and sensations". Lenin, as the successor of Engels, opposes Mach for his alignment of himself with Dühring.[8] Lenin criticises Mach for being wrong in principle and inconsistent in application:

> In Mach, the first sensations are declared to be "real elements of the world"...then the very opposite view is smuggled in, viz that sensations are connected with definite processes in the organism. Are not these "processes" connected with the exchange of matter between the organism and the external world? Could this exchange of matter take place if sensations of particular organisms did not give them an objectively correct idea of this external world...? ..natural science instinctively adheres to the materialist theory of knowledge... Materialism, in full agreement with natural science, takes matter as primary and regards consciousness, thought, sensation as secondary, because in its well-defined form sensation is associated only with the higher forms of matter (organised matter) while "in the foundation of the structure of matter" one can only surmise the existence of a faculty akin to sensation...Machism holds to the opposite idealist point of view and at once lands into an absurdity: since in the first place, sensation is taken as primary in spite of the fact that it is associated only with definite processes in matter organised in a definite way; in the second place, the basic premise that bodies are complexes of sensations is violated by the assumption of existence of other living beings and in general of other "complexes" beside the given great I.[9]

Marxists were not alone in requiring an attachment of knowledge of reality to scientific discovery, but early Soviet Marxism required a doctrine which described mechanically the process and structure whereby objects were set in motion rather than assuming movement as a transcendant vitalising force, nor was it sufficient to assume that logical order reflected natural order. The reflex was a decisive moment for philosophy in that it located the origins of consciousness, both in the process of evolution of the

individual being from birth to maturity and in the process of evolution of life forms. "The view of subjective psychology does not harmonise with the law of evolution, if it cannot tell at what level of development in the animal kingdom the phenomenon called consciousness begins".[10] Thus Bekhterev criticises James and Bergson (published in Russia in 1908 and 1914 respectively) for idealism in their adherence to the vague notion of a 'cosmic consciousness', subsuming all nature, animate and inanimate, organic and inorganic. "Haeckel, le Dantec, Petri and de la Grasserie and others regard the psychic and consequently consciousness as resident in every cell and every molecule and atom...a 'psychology of minerals'."[11] But Bekhterev. ever equitable, cannot entertain a rigidly mechanistic position either:

> The view holds undisputed sway among modern psychologists that, in investigating the behaviour of man, it is not possible to exclude the psychic altogether because every reality and every process is first of all a psychic reality, for our knowledge of nature is second hand, through the medium of the psychic world, which the mechanists deny... if we turn to the objective investigation of the external person and regard that individual's logical process and his behaviour as reactions to stimulii from the external world, we shall have direct evidence that development of these reactions is inevitable, if we take into account the individual's bio-socio development under the influence of his experience and consider the utilisation of external influences for his own presentation and that of the community. 12

Conversely, the vitalist Bergson repudiates Spencer for a misplaced attachment to the reflex and an inadequate evolutionism which falsely emphasises isolated states over the process of becoming. Bergson calls for "A PHILOSOPHY WHICH SEES IN DURATION THE VERY STUFF OF REALITY. Matter or mind, reality has appeared to us as a perpetual becoming. It makes

itself or it unmakes itself, but it is never something made".[13]

> By compounding the reflex with the reflex, Spencer thinks he generates instinct and rational volition one after the other. He fails to see that the specialised reflex, being a terminal point of evolution just as much as perfect will, cannot be supposed at the start. That the first of the two terms should have reached its final form before the other is probable enough; but both the one and the other are deposits of the evolution movement, and the evolution movement itself can no more be expressed as a function solely of the first than solely of the second. We must then go in quest of the fluid reality which has been precipitated in this twofold form, and which probably shares in both without being either. At the lowest degree of the animal scale, in living beings that are but an undifferentiated protoplasmic mass, the reaction to stimulus does not yet call into play one definite mechanism, as in the reflex; it has not choice among several definite mechanisms, as in the voluntary act; it is, then, neither voluntary nor reflex, though it heralds both...But to all this Spencer shuts his eyes, because it is of the essence of his method to recompense the consolidated, instead of going back to the gradual process of consolidation, which is evolution itself.
> Is it, finally, the question of the correspondence between mind and matter? Spencer is right in defining the intellect by this correspondence. He is right in regarding it as the end of an evolution. But when he comes to retrace this evolution, again he integrates the evolved with the evolved...so that it is vain for him, then, to pretend to make the genesis of it. 14

Moreover, science was not the only area of knowledge to enter the mechanist/vitalist debate and to pursue new relationships of space and time and a new fascination with movement. "Plastic art discloses what science has discovered", says Mondriaan, aspiring to found art on an objective basis. "Neoplasticism should not be considered a personal conception. It is the logical development of all art, ancient and modern; its way lies open to everyone as a principle to be applied".[15] Here, too, Bergson makes a notable

contribution:

> Pure change, real duration, is something spiritual, impregnated with spirituality. Intuition is the quality which reaches the spirit, duration, pure change...There is, however, a fundamental meaning: intuitive thinking is thinking in duration. Intelligence arises ordinarily from the immobile and constructs the quality of movement as well as it may from juxtaposed immobilities. Intuition arises from movement, posits it or rather notices it as reality itself and sees nothing in immobility but an abstract, instantaneous moment which our mind has singled out of mobility. Usually it is of things- that is to say of the stable- that intelligence is given and change becomes an accident that is supplied afterwards. For the intuition, change is the essential.
> 16

Throughout the arts, there was an enthusiasm for dynamism, movement per se, and for plasticity, both as the description of form in space and its representation in movement through time. The term 'plasticity' is prominent in the manifestos of the artistic avant-garde in Europe. For the artists of de Stijl the 'new plastic' was defined as "a new organisation of the surface";[17] the Italian futurists presented their 1912 credo under the title 'Pittura, Scultura, Futurista (dinamismo plastico)';[18] Laszlo Moholy-Nagy urged that "the significance of the plastic features of a face, of shells, flowers and a thousand other matters...be re-discovered again",[19] and Léger, on behalf of French Purism, concluded that "plastic beauty is totally independent of sentimental, descriptive and imitative values".[20] The meaning ascribed to 'plasticity' by those who employed it was various, but, broadly, 'plastic' denotes the organisation and articulation of material in movement. Even stillness, says Mondriaan, is in plastic terms no more than the poising in equilibrium of potentially generative forces: "In plastic art, reality can be expressed only through the equilibrium of dynamic movement of form and colour...dynamic equilib-

rium, the unification of forms or elements of forms through continual opposition...destroys static balance".[21] In the manifestos, 'plasticity' indicates an enthusiasm for movement as a proper theme for the modern work of art (as distinct from any previous subsidiary concern with the expression of the plastic attributes of such and such a subject), with movement (natural or mechanical) as the generator of forms and with the means by which dynamism and flux (as opposed to stasis) are to be conveyed in an art work truly representative of a modern perception of the world.

In the theatre, Appia, Tairov and Meierkhold similarly celebrate plasticity. but their exploration of its dramatic potential extends beyond a formalist enthusiasm for abstract sculptural settings of mass and light. Meierkhold discusses the plastic as a means of involving the audience as the fourth creator in a ritualistic performance:

> ...the spectator is compelled to employ his imagination creatively in order to fill-in those details suggested by the stage action...stylisation employs statuesque plasticity to strengthen the impression made by certain groupings on the spectator's memory...the stylised theatre wants to abolish scenery which is located on the same plane as the actor and the stage properties, to remove the footlights, to subordinate acting to the rhythm of dialogue and plastic movement; it anticipates the revival of the dance and seeks to induce the active participation of the spectator in the performance... 22

Film, as the art of the moving image, was accorded a peculiarly privileged position. Film was welcomed by avant-garde artists as a medium which responded to, could even materially fulfil, these various aspirations. In 1934, Panofsky recognised in film unique possibilities for the

"dynamisation of space" and "the spatialisation of time".[23] In 1923, Elie Faure observed: "The cinema is plastic first; it represents a sort of moving architecture which is in constant accord- in a state of equilibrium dynamically pursued".[24] The duration and disclosing of a film referred it qualitatively, for some critics, to older and exotic precedents, for instance, Egyptian reliefs and Chinese roll paintings.[25] More often, film commended itself as a symptom of modernity and a celebration of a modern aesthetic: "cinema fits naturally into the rhythm of the world", said Léger.[26] The plastic arts increasingly adopted terms descriptive of the performing arts to express their aesthetic ideals. Film not only juxtaposed performing and plastic art but presented a unity in which the traditional distinction could be overcome. (see chapter seven,below) Faure continues:

> Let us not misunderstand the meaning of the word 'plastic'. Too often it evokes the motionless, colourless forms called sculptural- which lead all too quickly to the academic canon, to helmeted heroism, to allegories in sugar, zinc, papier-mâché or lard. Plastics is the art of expressing form in repose or in movement by all the means that man commands: full-round, bas relief, engraving...drawing in any medium, painting, fresco, the dance; and it seems to me in no wise overbold to affirm that the rhythmic movements of a group of gymnasts or of a processional or military column touch the spirit of plastic art far more nearly than do the pictures of the school of David. Like painting. moreover, and more completely than painting, since a living rhythm and its repetition in time are what characterise cine-plastics- the later art tends and will tend more every day to approach music and the dance as well. The interpenetration, the crossing and the association of movements and cadences already give us the impression that even the most mediocre films unroll in musical space. [27]

It seems to me worth setting film against this broad swathe of intellectual enquiry into dynamism, plasticity and organicity, before investigating the various interpretations

evinced in Pudovkin's films and in his writings. Pudovkin does not stand conveniently on one side or the other of the mechanist/vitalist debate, he is concerned with film both as a conspicuously additive construction and as duration, as the absorption of time fluidly passing: in the same breath he uses an analogy from architecture (bricks, keystones) alongside an analogy from music (crescendo, diminuendo).[28] A film, for Pudovkin, has objective identity and existence, it stands as a deliberate abstraction from the indifferent natural visual and rhythmic continuum, but simultaneously plays and functions in real time. Unlike his contemporaries in the pure film movement in the rest of Europe (Richter, Eggeling, Lye, Léger), Pudovkin does not make abstract qualities of line, volume, tone and movement the subject of his work, but rather requires of an aesthetic that it serve a particular social and political imperative.[29]

Pudovkin uses 'plastic' in a narrow sense to denote the selection of subject matter to be photographed. The camera directs the attention of the viewer towards a particular object, an ability akin to that identified by Kuleshov in Pushkin and by Eisenstein in Zola to locate pertinent details in a given scene. (see chapter seven, below) Golovnia recounts that he and Pudovkin would often spend hours searching out a particular tree or river at a particular time of day and then insert the shot in a sequence of material entirely unrelated in actuality. Sometimes they would encounter their ideal entirely by chance. The choice of shot entails exploiting or contriving lighting which reveals the object in its ideal aspect: in The End of

St.Petersburg, Golovnia attempted to capture the idiosyncratic quality of the twilight and the White Nights, "when contours become uncertain, the space nebulous, when the image loses its naturalistic quality".[30] But the 'plastic' denotes more than the search for a natural object which can be photographed more effectively than another example: it means more than unusually photogenic. Equally, for Pudovkin, 'plastic' equates with more than the Impressionists' 'photogénie', that which Delluc defined mysteriously as the capacity of the camera to transform pictorially the natural aspect of an object, to reveal appearances beyond the usual: Delluc's definition seems to apply to the single shot, fixed or moving, regardless of context.[31] Delluc's Photogénie was culled from previous articles in Esprit Nouveau and he was known also for his contributions to Veshch'-Gegenstand-Objet.[32] In his ARK zhurnal article 'Fotogeniia', responding to the 1924 Russian translation, Pudovkin says that for Delluc the term comprises "the photographic representability of such and such an object, with the 'genius' of film" but says that he seems to "have considered the question of the film material itself of scarcely any importance".[33] Eisenstein responds with a useful definition which corresponds to 'typage' (see chapter four, above): "An idea expressed in its completeness is photogenic; that is, an object is photogenic when it corresponds most closely to the idea that it embodies".[34] For Pudovkin, the 'plastic' incorporates a similar notion, meaning the appreciation at the outset of an element in sequence and the selection of visual material appropriate to the expression of a particular theme. "a supra-artistic concept", commanding the film as a whole:

> The scenario-writer must bear always in mind the fact that every sentence that he writes will have to appear plastically upon the screen in some visible form. Consequently, it is not the words he writes that are important, but the externally expressed plastic images that he describes in these words...The scenarist must know how to find and to use plastic (visually expressive) material: that is to say, he must know how to discover and how to select, from the limitless mass of material provided by life and its observation, those forms and movements that shall most clearly and vividly express in images the <u>whole content</u> of his idea.35

Pudovkin intends by "clear and expressive" that which readily and economically conveys a definite idea or feeling, an intention on the part of the director to avoid confusion or misunderstanding between the making and the viewing of the film. In <u>The End of St.Petersburg</u>, the garlanded statue of Alexander III weeps as Europe goes to war.(ill.6.i.a) With the opening shots of the film, Pudovkin and Golovnia sought to convey Russia in general and not just the particular landscape of the Volga region:

> The first shots...show hilly countryside with sheaves of rye, ploughed fields which reach as far as the horizon to merge with the sky...In these pictures a sense of space was achieved by the well considered succession of graded tones, of the yellow rye and blue sky with white clouds. The troughs and furrows conveyed the feeling of an infinite distance and the cutting from landscape to landscape determined the extension of vision.36

"It is well known", says Pudovkin, "to the specialist and to the general public alike, that some shots turn out well on screen and some badly".[37] The selection of individual elements, ultimately the choice of shot and camera angle, is always to be subordinated to the general theme and the will of the director. Although Pudovkin quotes Kuleshov's analogy of film as a putting together of bricks, these separate individual pieces are not free to find or to generate their own form of combination.[38] 'Plasticity' is

6.i.a.

6.i.b.

6.i.c.

implied by Pudovkin more loosely in the internal feel, fundamentally intuitive, for a film as a whole, as material clearly organised within very definite boundaries. "Cinematography is, before anything else, limited by the definite length of a film. A film more than 7,000 feet long already creates an unnecessary exhaustion".[39] A director must 'feel' the division of the film into its reels and shape his material accordingly. "A reel must not exceed a certain length... a reel runs through in under 15 minutes and the whole film in about 1½ hours. If one tries to visualise each separate scene as a component of a reel, as it appears upon the screen and consider the time each will take up, one can reckon the quantity required as content of the whole scenario".[40] In this respect, Pudovkin speaks of the appearance of movement of the screened image, the fact of its movement and the time accorded to it, as that which specifically distinguishes film from photography. Here the director's activity is somewhat akin to orchestration: "A film is only really significant when every one of its elements is firmly welded to a whole...When one calculates that in a film of about 4,000 feet there are about 500 pieces, then one perceives that there are 500 separate but interlocked groups of problems to be solved...by the director".[41] I suggest that for Pudovkin there is an additional sense in which the "raw material of film" acquires a substantial plastic meaning apart from its appearance on screen. Pudovkin says that many technicians have become proficient directors by first learning to handle material shot by others, to feel the balance between different lengths and tones (elements, unlike bricks, dissimilar in kind);[42] Pudovkin advocates that cutting is

the basic skill of the director, not only in relation to the spectator's apprehension of the screened image but also as a craft underpinning the film-making process. Iezuitov and the Schnitzers have published Pudovkin's lists, giving the exact lengths of individual shots (and consequently their relative proportions) of sequences in Mother and in the parade sequence in The End of St.Petersburg (Eisenstein's example of "perfect metric montage").[43] (ill. 9.i.)

As a distinct photographed element, spoken titles are for Pudovkin a case in point. Titles may have plastic content, by means of an expressive type face or by size of font: German films were known to use gothic black letter to indicate officialdom; Gardin, amongst a number of expressionist devices, uses fancy lettering in the style of a calling-card to introduce the Baron in Locksmith and Chancellor. In Famine, notes Pudovkin, the title 'Comrades' appeared normal size, followed by the larger title 'Brothers' and thereafter 'Help' filling the whole screen. Dovzhenko's Arsenal, Kuleshov's The Female Journalist and Pudovkin's own End of St.Petersburg use a similar effect. But Pudovkin notes further that "more important than the plastic aspect of a title is its rhythmic significance... it must be borne in mind that with the length of a title must be considered the speed of the action in which it appears. Rapid action demands short, abrupt titles; long drawn out action can be linked only with slow ones".[44] In The End of St.Petersburg, the staggered single caption 'from Penza, from Novgorod, from Tver' recurs as a leit-motif through the film. Pudovkin is wary of the disruption of the fluid movement of a sequence by an unwieldy, halting title and, again, is eager to

facilitate the address of the film to the audience in an aesthetic unity of word with image:

> The main consideration affecting spoken titles is: good literary treatment and, certainly, as much compression as possible. One must consider that, on the average, every line of title (two to three words) requires three feet of film. Consequently a title twelve words long stays on the screen from twelve to eighteen seconds, and can, by a temporal interruption of this kind, destroy the rhythm, and with it the sequence and impression, of the current shots.
> Clarity is as important for the spoken as for the continuity title. Superfluous words that may enhance the literary beauty of the sentence but will complicate its rapid comprehension are not permissible...It must be added that in construction of the scenario one must be careful of the distribution of the titles. A continual, even interruption of the action by titles is not desirable. It is better to try to distribute them...so that by concentrating them in one part of the scenario the remainder is left free for development of the action. Thus work the Americans, giving all the necessary explanations in the early reels, strengthening the middle by use of more spoken titles, and at the end, in quicker tempo, carrying through the bare action to the finish without titles. 45

The organisation of literary material is hereby structured in accordance with a general ideal schema, as exemplified for Pudovkin by Griffith. Pudovkin observes that Intolerance (released in Russia in 1916) combines "the inner dramatic content of the action and a masterly employment of external effort (dynamic tension)" and seemingly follows his own advice to directors to take Griffith's films in general "as models of correctly contrasted intensification".* In The End of St.Petersburg, images are accorded an appropriate length of time, indeed are inseparably matched to screen time, for the comprehension of their content, in their own right and in sequential context. The quivering reflections of the palaces on the banks of the Neva remain on screen for long enough to allow contemplation of the unstable found-

ations of this fated city, "...the most abstract and intentional city in the whole round world", said Dostoevski;[46] said Pushkin:

> Proshlo sto let, i iunyi grad,
> Polnoshchykh stran krasa i divo,
> Iz t'my lesov, iz topi blat
> Voznessia pyshno, gordelivo;
>
> Almost a century- and the city young
> Beauty of the Northern world, amazing,
> From gloomy forest and muddy swamp upsprung,
> Proudly risen in splendour blazing. 47

These shots announce the guiding theme for Pudovkin and Golovnia, 'St.Petersburg...Petrograd...Leningrad'. In The End of St.Petersburg, sequences are balanced like separate movements in a single shot or like separate elements in a single composition; dynamic movement is balanced against stillness and an appropriate speed and direction is determined for each sequence. The film opens with a calm, stratified picture of a sunrise; the day breaks and the blades of a windmill slice vertically, chopping regularly through the sky; winds blow left to right across the plains and the tide passes over the estuary. "It was not a single windmill", says Golovnia, "destined to be looked at and studied, but a

.....

*FT 12 & 20: "At the very last moment, when the noose is being laid round the neck of the hero, comes the pardon, attained by the wife at the price of her last energy and effort. The quick changes of scene, the contrasting alternation of the tearing machines with the methodical preparations for the execution of an innocent man, the ever increasing concern of the spectator...all these compel an intensification of excitement that, being placed at the end, successfully concludes the picture...A working out of the action of the scenario in which all the lines of behaviour of the various characters are clearly expressed, in which all the major events in which...the tension of the action is correctly considered and constructed in such a way that its gradual intensification rises to a climactic end- this...is a treatment already of considerable value and useful to the director in representation."
see also Vance Kepley Jr., 'Pudovkin and the Classical Hollywood Tradition' Wide Angle 7.3 (1985) and 'Intolerance and the Soviets' Wide Angle 3.1 (1979).

detail of the countryside considered as an uninterrupted shot, consisting of a whole series of elements rhythmically unified...by montage into a single picture".[48] The younger man waits motionless while the older breaks bread; neither is perturbed by the child (rushing into foreground from top of frame to bottom) reporting the screams of the mother: the men, worldly wise, know all too well that these pangs herald birth and not death and they continue their toil regardless. There is resignation: "one more mouth to feed; one more proletarian must leave to find work". The slow monotonous pace of the sequence sets the ensuing action of the film against the immutable course of the day and the seasons. As a train speeds the peasants away, windmills are seen on the horizon, turning ever turning. The spectator is suddenly jolted to attention by the rushing, lilting carr-

iage transporting the minister through the city of St.Petersburg: a sense of urgency is afoot. A slow-cranked shot of clouds passing over the statue of Peter the Great enhances the feeling of unnatural acceleration. Belching factory chimneys and close-ups of fast-moving wheels and pistons continue the sense of urban dynamism, of men working to the rhythm of machines: when the strike is called the same wheel will be shown in close-up, stationary. Raw material is selected to situate the narrative but simultaneously is employed to establish visually the momentum of the action: the factory smoke mirrors the clouds. Before the storming of the Winter Palace a bridge is shown closing, but as the camera seemingly passes under, the screen becomes a stark composition in black and white: night falls like the slow closing of an eye. The effect of a passing train in Chaplin's 1923 Woman of Paris could have provided

a source for Pudovkin's shots of the lift. When the manager is offered promotion by the industrialist Lebedev, the alternating black/white cast flashingly by the grille-work of the elevator cage on his face serves to mark the speed of his ascent to dizzying heights: Panofsky's "spatialisation of time" is applied to metaphorical purpose. Pudovkin equally employs dramatic content and external effort reciprocally, To effect a diegetically accommodated transition from one scene to another without disrupting the flow of the sequence Lebedev advances upon the camera; his bulk consumes the screen in an encroaching blackness. The artful convention of a fade is effected apparently artlessly and effortlessly.

Yuri Tsivian says that early viewers frequently remarked jolts and shakes which rendered the act of projection all too appreciable.[49] Münsterberg observed (as did Arnheim thereafter) that the momentum of projection functions quasi-transparently.[50] Certainly the mechanical progress of the film through the projector is not normally consciously perceived, one is not normally aware of the vehicle of movement itself moving. I contend that, in Pudovkin, an appreciation of filmic momentum, through the rigorous manipulation of movement in and between frames, verges on the palpable:

> Always there exist two rhythms, the rhythmic course of the objective world and the tempo and rhythm with which man observes this world. The world is a whole rhythm while man receives only partial impressions of this world through his eyes and ears and skin. The tempo of his impressions varies with the rousing and calming of his emotions while the rhythm of the objective world he percives continues in unchanged tempo. 51

Echoing Meierkhold's understanding of plasticity as a participatory relationship between performance and audience, in

his notes on rhythmic montage, Pudovkin lavishes praise on Ruttmann's Berlin (1927): "In his film Ruttmann never merely places something in front of the spectator, always he works with the montage of the material and the spectator together, as one".[52] At the end of Mother, the tension of the dramatic action (anticipation of the son's impending escape) is visually wound-up by the intermittent succession of shots of the prisoners walking round and round in a circle, counter-clockwise, in the prison yard. In The End of St.Petersburg, the spectator is emotionally engaged via a sensational assault. Images are often assembled to produce a sequence with the capacity to arouse a particular response, irrespective of their subject matter. In context, their source is often difficult to ascertain and is of no consequence. In Film Technique, Pudovkin cites the example of the explosion during the war sequence:

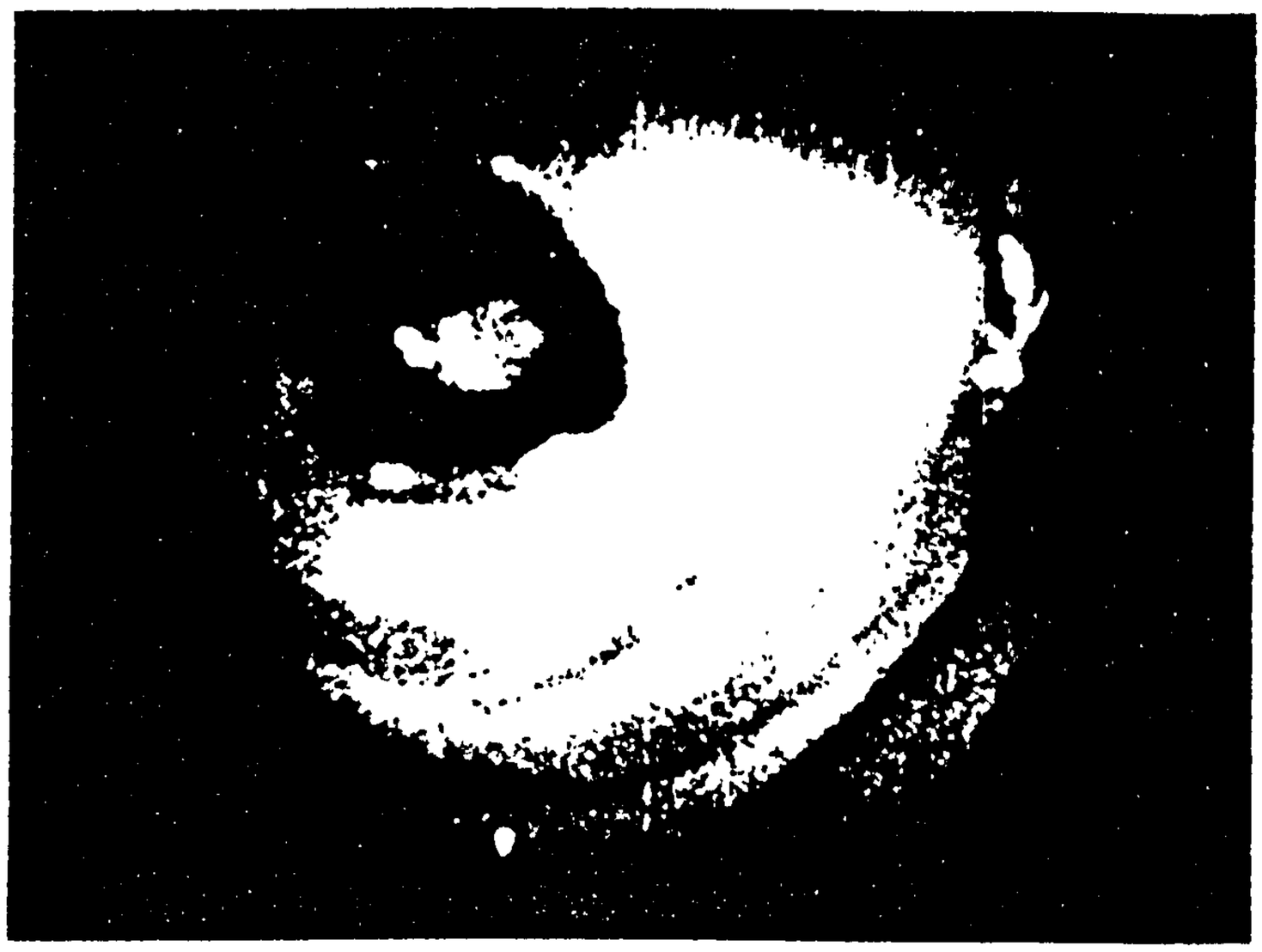
> At the beginning of that part of the action that represents war, I wished to show a terrific explosion. In order to render the effect of this explosion with absolute faithfulness, I caused a great mass of dynamite to be buried in the earth, had it blasted, and shot it. The explosion was veritably colossal- but filmically it was nothing. On the screen it was merely a slow, lifeless movement. Later, after much trial and experiment I managed to edit the explosion with all the effect I required- moreover, without using a single piece of the scene I had just taken. I took a flammenwerfer [sic] that belched forth clouds of smoke. In order to give the effect of the crash I cut in short flashes of a magnesium flare, in rhythmic alternation of light and dark. Thus gradually arose before me the visual effect I required. The bomb explosion was at last upon the screen, but, in reality, its elements comprised everything imaginable except a real explosion. 53

With fast cutting bombarding the eye, it seems that the sensational impulse is transferred from one shot to the next rather than the attention being held to allow for an identification of content. It would seem that this impulse oper-

ates independently of any residual image on the retina.[54] Even the howling baby in The End of St.Petersburg seems to be employed for purely physiognomic effect rather than to convey dramatic action. "Single features...appear in space; but the significance of their relation to one another is not a phenomenon pertaining to space, no more than are the emotions, thoughts and ideas which are manifested in the facial expressions we see. They are picture-like and yet they seem outside space; such is the psychological effect of facial expression", says Béla Balázs.[55](ill.6.i.a) The cutting of shots during the central section of the film (the war years) is so rapid that the eye cannot catch all the images clearly, the combination of speed and brightness agitates, even aggravates the eye in the manner of op.art. Knowingly or by experiment, Pudovkin applies the phi effect, whereby two graphic forms projected alternately produce an illusion of transformation or simultaneity or movement.* Vertov uses a similar effect in Man with a Movie Camera (1929), but, unlike Pudovkin, merely stages the trick with virtuosic aplomb, and does not integrate the device into an address to the spectator of thematic content.[56] In The End of St.Petersburg, the symbol of the Aurora is transformed into the symbol of the Bolshevik leader with his arm out-stretched, previously located in the action. (ill.6.viii.a) The silhouette of the battleship (60 frames) is replaced by the negative of the same image (7 frames), proceeded by the blast, white on black (3 frames) superseded by the Bolshevik

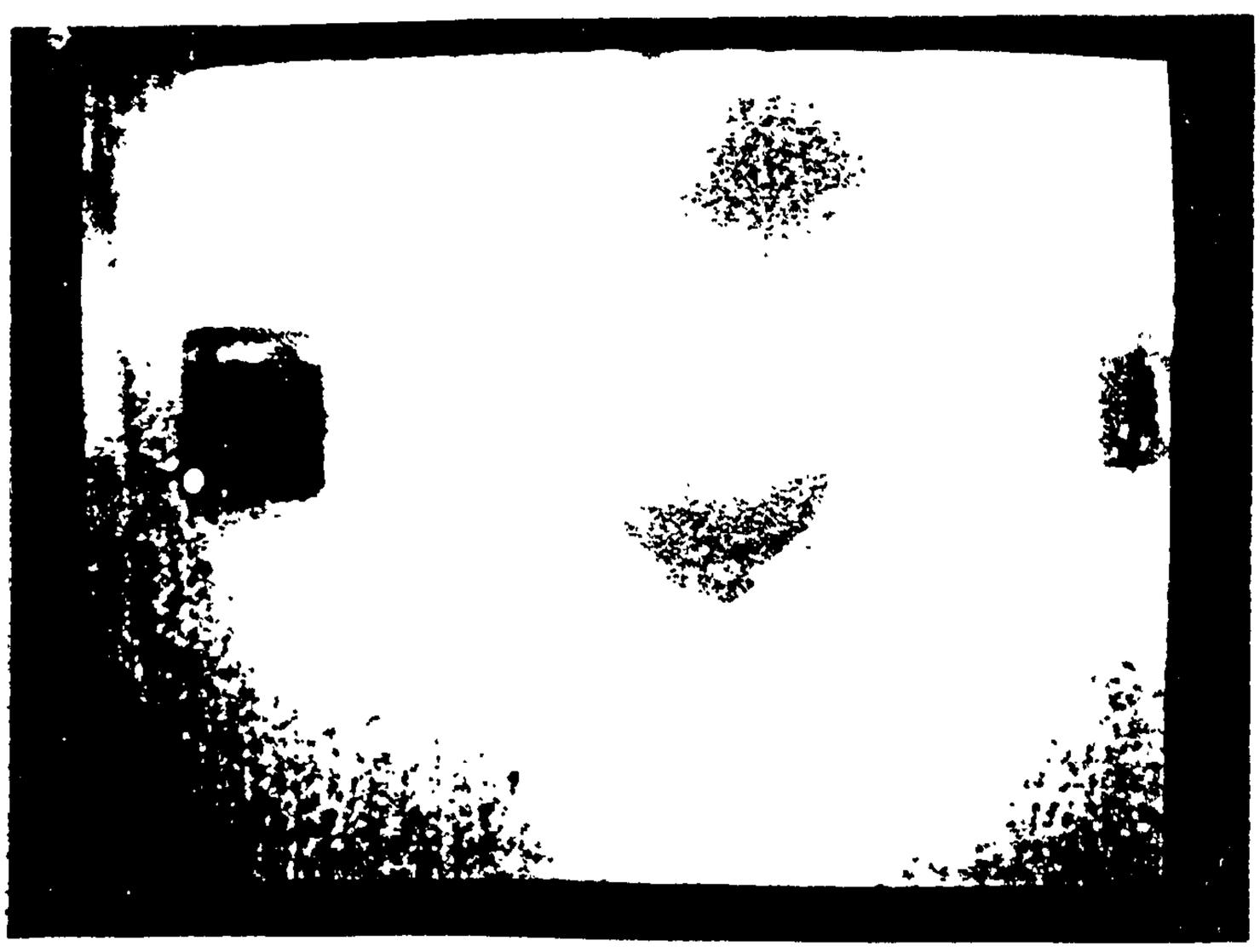
.....

*The phi phenomenon, so named by Gestalt psychologist Max Wertheimer: an irreducible experiment depending on critical intervals between images shown. See Richard Gregory, Eye and Mind and Visual Perception; also on brightness see Ernst Gombrich, Art and Illusion (London: 1977) 260.



6.ii.a.

6.ii.b.



6.ii.c.

(20 frames). Petrograd becomes Leningrad.(ill.6.iii;iv):

> On the sailors' hat bands were 'Avrora' and 'Zaria Svobody'- names of leading Bolshevik cruisers of the Baltic Fleet. One of them said, "Kronstadt is coming!"...it was as if, in 1792, on the streets of Paris, someone had said, "the Marseillais are coming!" For at Kronstadt were 25,000 sailors, convinced Bolsheviks and not afraid to die...* 57

Theoretically, the closest approach Pudovkin makes to Pavlov's reflex is in his isolation of the shot or camera angle as the most reductive element. Pudovkin suggests that the making of a film can be likened to the process of differentiation and integration in mathematics. Ivor Montagu notes that the analogy with calculus extended to (or was derived from) Pudovkin's understanding of perception as a computation of stimulii in the brain; Vance Kepley traces it to Pudovkin's early training as a chemist.[58](see chapter nine, below) Shots are to be selected by virtue of their ability to express in concrete form the theme of a particular scenario. Pudovkin acknowledges that the director is predisposed, obliged, to photograph the external world in a particular, purposeful way. The selection of a particular camera position can in itself render ordinary reality extraordinary, can lend an analytical interpretation to the usual or familiar. "To show something as everyone sees it is to have accomplished nothing", says Pudovkin.[59] For instance, in The End of St.Petersburg, shots frequently deviate from an orthogonal stance: the camera is placed to re-orientate decisively the perspective (literally and mataphorically) of

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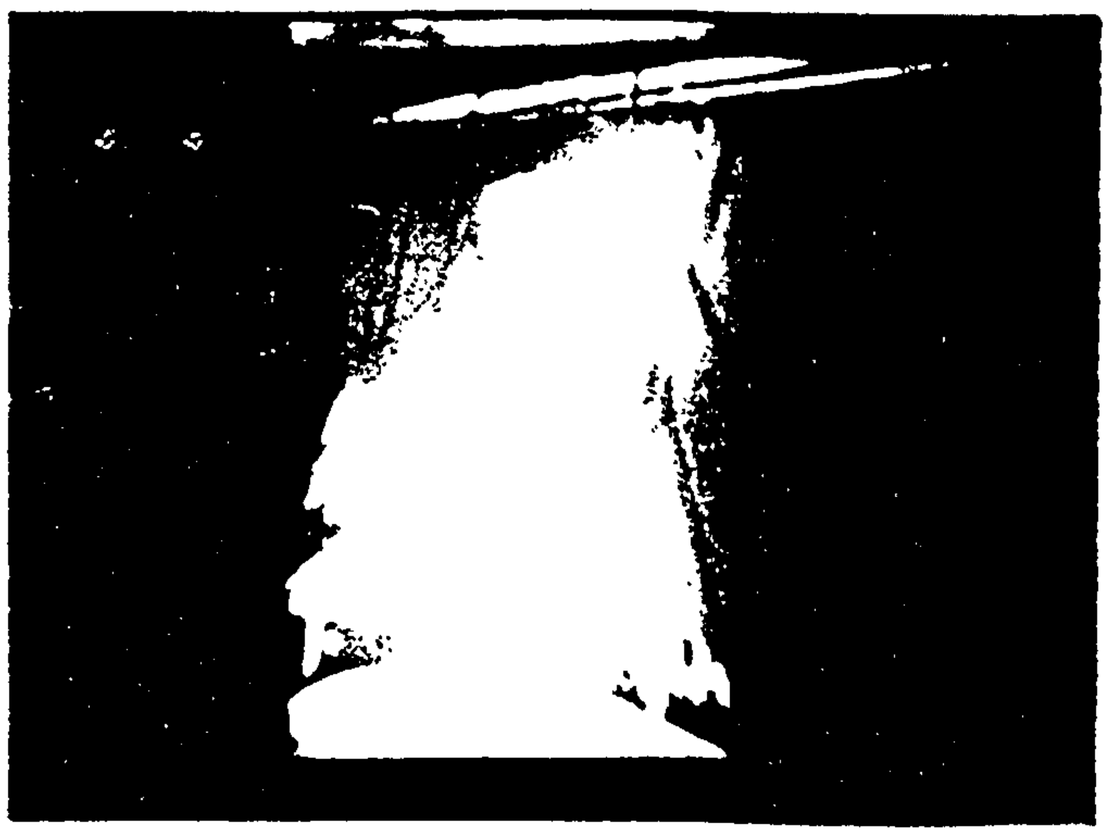
*The battleship Avrora is now open as a museum, telling the story of the ship on the night of 25th.October 1917 and describing conditions on the ship for the officers and the men; the tone of John Reed's account suggests well the mythical status enjoyed by the ship. (see also Moscow Museum)

6.iii.a.

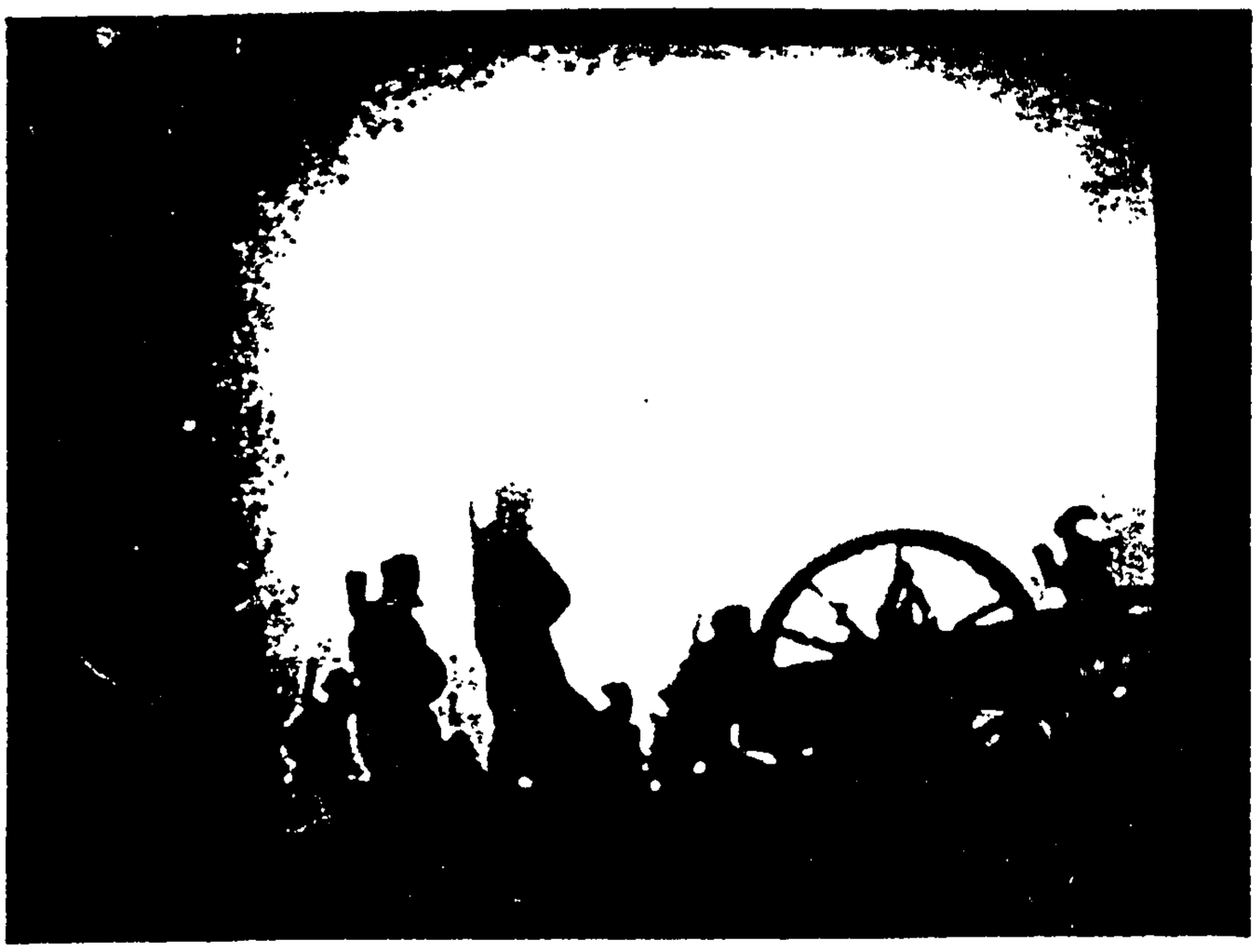


6.iii.b.

6.iii.c.

6.iii.d

6.iv.a



6.iv.b.

6.iv.c.

the viewing subject. Contrary to Dart's complaint that Pudovkin's orientation is destructive of audience identification in the film, I suggest that Pudovkin constructs a particular position in which the viewing subject is of necessity placed.[60] The shot of the two peasants walking across the pale open courtyard is more emphatically contrasted in scale by having the equestrian figure of Alexander III heavy and black in foreground; or, again, in the steep distorting angle of a shot of the isolated peasants overshadowed by the statue of an apostle of St.Isaac's cathedral, seeming even more insignificant and insect-like;[61] the housing-block to which they go to find lodging is first shown to the spectator as a distant object, looking, with its regular grid of bare black rectangular openings, more like a pigeon coop than apartments.(ill.6.v.) The low shots of the ministers who declare war on behalf of the nation are framed to show their legs in relation to the cabriole legs of chairs (these are stout bandy-legged old men, unlikely themselves to be despatched to war), to show their richly embroidered costumes emblazoned with the regalia of state (these are not medals attained in battle), to exclude recognition of accountable individuals (these are mere faceless functionaries). One is reminded of Bely's description of Nikolai Appollonovich, "with his cap clutched in a white gloved hand, he would ascend the stairs behind the dignitaries, the old men in gold braid and white trousers".[62] An old man and a young woman lean out to wave to the troops departing for war: all the young men are leaving; photographed from below, the flowers cascading down on them are omens of the grenades to come.(ill.6.i) As Balázs observes generally, sometimes a picture can make a point strikingly which would in words be

no more than a cliché.[63]

Unlike Vertov, who in theory likened the camera lens to a window, a fixed flat plane parallel to the action which streamed past (at one stage even suggesting the burying of a camera in a wall to record whatever happened to pass before it), Pudovkin (like Kuleshov) lays stress on the choreographing of the pro-filmic event, on the organisation of the mise-en-scène within the boundaries of the frame and within an appropriate depth of field; that which is enclosed by the frame is not an accidental portion of a temporal and spatial continuum but is deliberately assembled. The absolute boundary of the picture frame concentrates the director's attention on the subject matter enclosed, it establishes a particular relation of subject with frame. This corresponds to the eventual focus of the spectator on the projected image in relation to the boundary of the screen: in the projected image the picture frame retains a directed and substantive presence. Lebedev is generally shot in The End of St.Petersburg such that he exceeds the limits of the frame; standing frontal to camera (his head swivels above his stiffly starched collar).

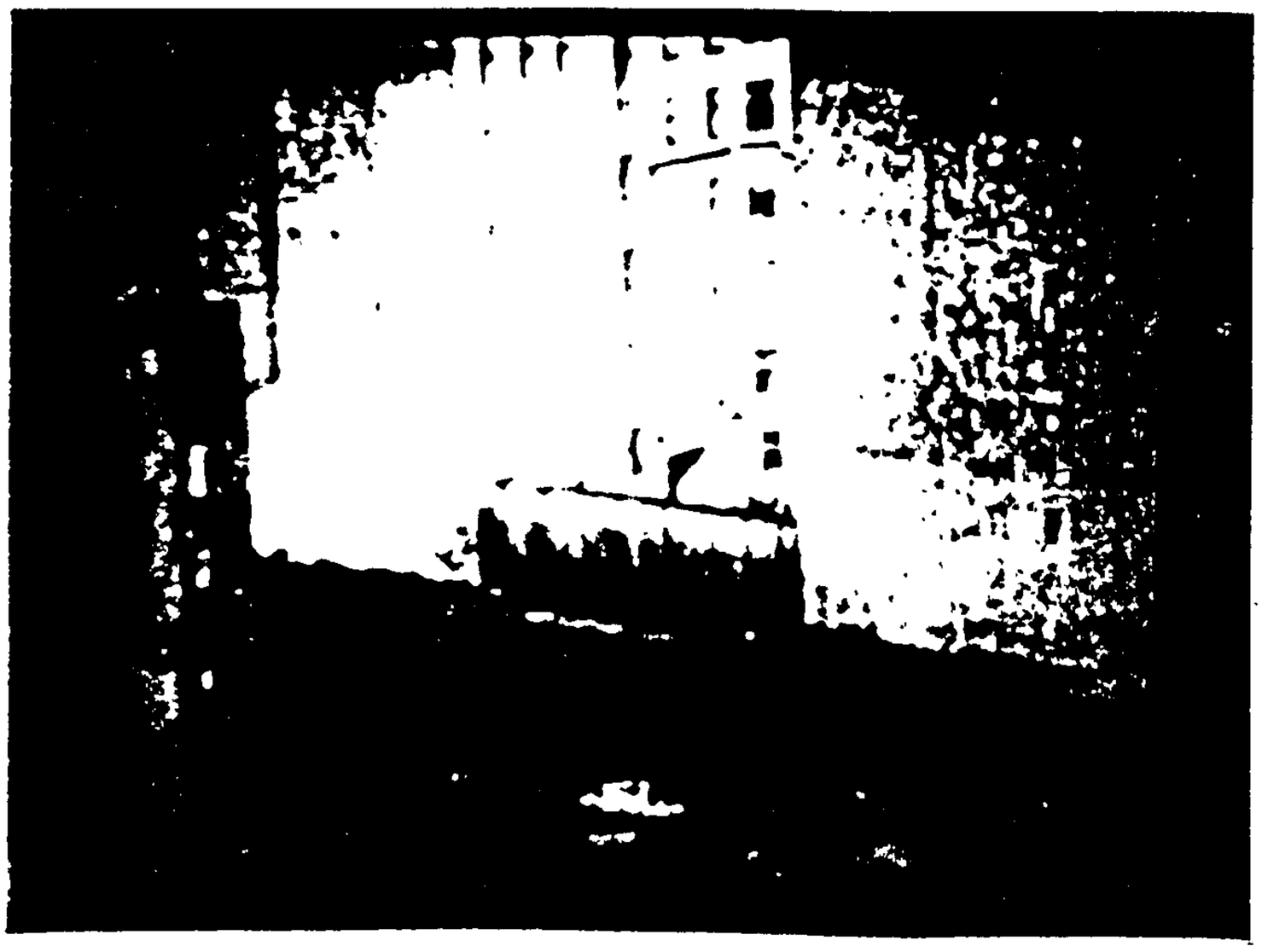
Pudovkin acknowledges that the limitations of the recording apparatus (the camera angle of vision, the focal length of the lens) impose constraints upon that which can be photographed effectively and that such a photogenic evaluation of potential raw material already refutes the film's claim to be a direct representation of the natural world. But in this transposition also resides the camera's extraordinary potency. Extreme close-ups, as a means of de-familiarising the original subject matter had been used previous-

ly in Le Ballet Méchanique (1924). However, with Léger these magnifications remained little more than a startling novelty, an entertaining party trick. Pudovkin photographs a shell axially foreshortened and a ship's gun hole, and alternates these with the cropped shot of the face of the howling baby.(ill.6.ii) The similarity of the shots as abstract compositions combine to register graphically the idea that making war brings pain and suffering to those at home and at the front.

Kuleshov seemed in general to favour the positioning of the camera to correspond to the eye of a spectator viewing a scene played in the same horizontal ground plane. The picture stands perpendicular to the ground plane. Kuleshov regarded as affectation the practice of Expressionist and Constructivist photographers "to seize things from above and below", and certainly Kuleshov was not alone in doubting that unusual camera angles rendered Rodchenko's photographs any more politically correct.[64] Kuleshov entertained the notion of a spatial web embracing the entire mise-en-scène, a 3-dimensional grid radiating from the lens, akin to the cone of vision employed by a standard perspectival presentation of natural optics, with a single sight line similarly drawn parallel to the ground plane. Kuleshov, endorsed by Eisenstein, advocates this conceptual pyramid as a tool assisting the clear and distinct arrangement of elements within the shot frame.[65] Pudovkin generally endorses Kuleshov's mise-en-scène, and, indeed frequently reiterates tenets of his mentor's theories, but there is no mention of the web. Furthermore, the camera is often set not in the limiting vertical plane of the space in which the dramatic

action is performed but rather is placed in a continuous space such that action is deemed to extend behind the camera: entrances are made from camera left, exits are made past camera right. Pudovkin uses the height, angle and tilt of the camera not only as devices which effect a particular interpretative expression in the screened picture; sometimes the picture is a means of rendering more forcibly a sense of the camera being somewhere, of situating the camera point of view as an authentic eye witness: in The End of St.Petersburg, a view from the war trenches is shot as a thin horiz-. ontal slit of white at the top of the frame above a black base; a view from the roof of the Winter Palace reverses the proportion.(ill.6.iv) Kuleshov says that his By the Law similarly deviated from the normal division of the frame by thirds and cites this as an extension of cinema's expressive potential.[66] In theory, Kuleshov is seemingly more proscriptive and the web indicates consistent spectator placement. The screened image is for Pudovkin a thing in its own right in and to which the spectator can re-orientate his point of view at the director's will. Contrary to more recent highly subjective debates around spectator placement in film (of which, I think, Dart is wont to fall foul) Pudovkin assumes that such re-orientations are customarily and habitually incurred in film-viewing.[67] Indeed, intertitles could not be accommodated without it. However, Pudovkin's advice that these be limited and judiciously distributed (explanatory titles towards the beginning, dialogue titles in the middle, with as few as possible towards the end) suggests that titles obstruct subjective incorporation is abetted by the unimpeded progress of the action.

Rather than using the film camera to obtain an image which conveyed the illusion of 3-dimensional depth, Pudovkin frequently seems to have deliberately flattened his image. Pre-revolutionary directors, notably Bauer, had used props, and a succession of vertical planes and contrasted tones to enhance the apparent depth of field, to counter the loss of focus in depth, and employed this spatial articulation theatrically.[68] By the same token, Kuleshov noted that uncluttered carefully positioned sets and the selection of colours and textures which produced flat, dark tones on film, could seemingly bring the action towards the picture plane.[69](for a discussion of this practice in Mr.West, see chapter three above) Perspectival distortion can also be productive of a flattened image: the tilted shots in The End of St.Petersburg of the peasants crossing the courtyard have a quality, I would suggest, reminiscent of Léger and Degas paintings of trapeze acts (significantly enough also painted from photographs).[70] Pudovkin seems to use flat backgrounds to intensify the graphic, surface quality of some gestures and some images. Like Kuleshov, he is concerned for their ability to communicate efficiently, for their ready apprehension. These serve, like posters, to arrest the spectator's attention within the duration of the film, just as do the over-sized titles: FREEDOM!, BROTHERS!. These shots are not the constitutive fragments of a conceptual, single united pro-filmic space in which actions have been simultaneously or consecutively performed. These shots are ofen uniquely declamatory rather than mutually coversational. Consequently I think that Peter Dart misses Pudovkin's intention when he complains



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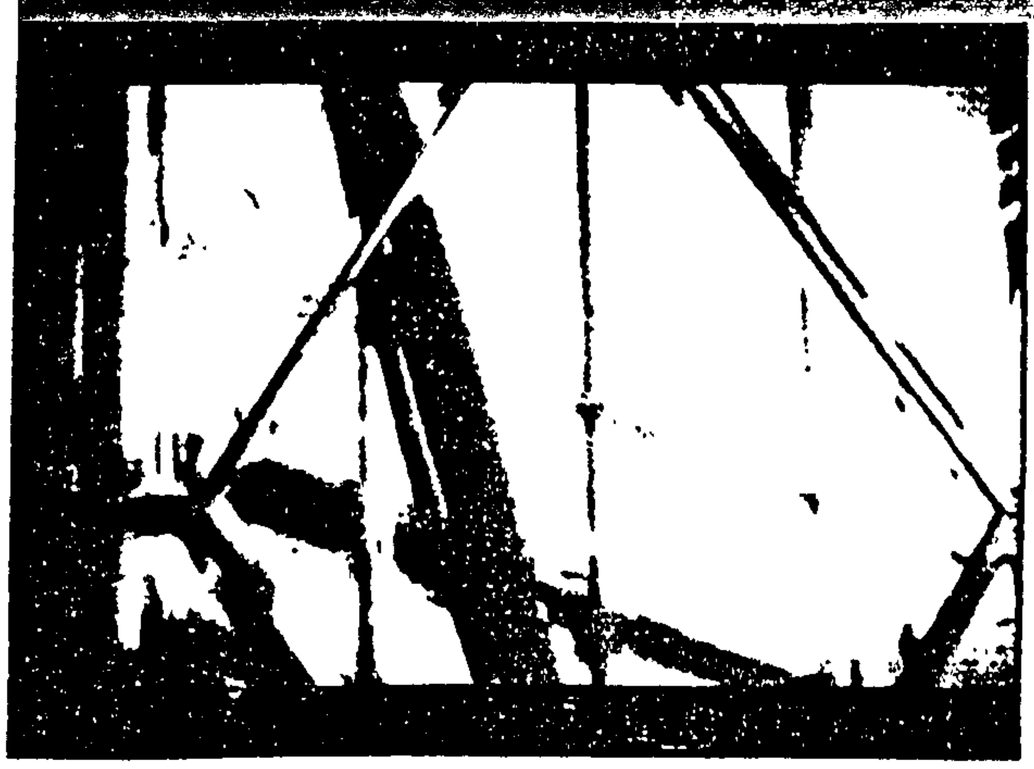

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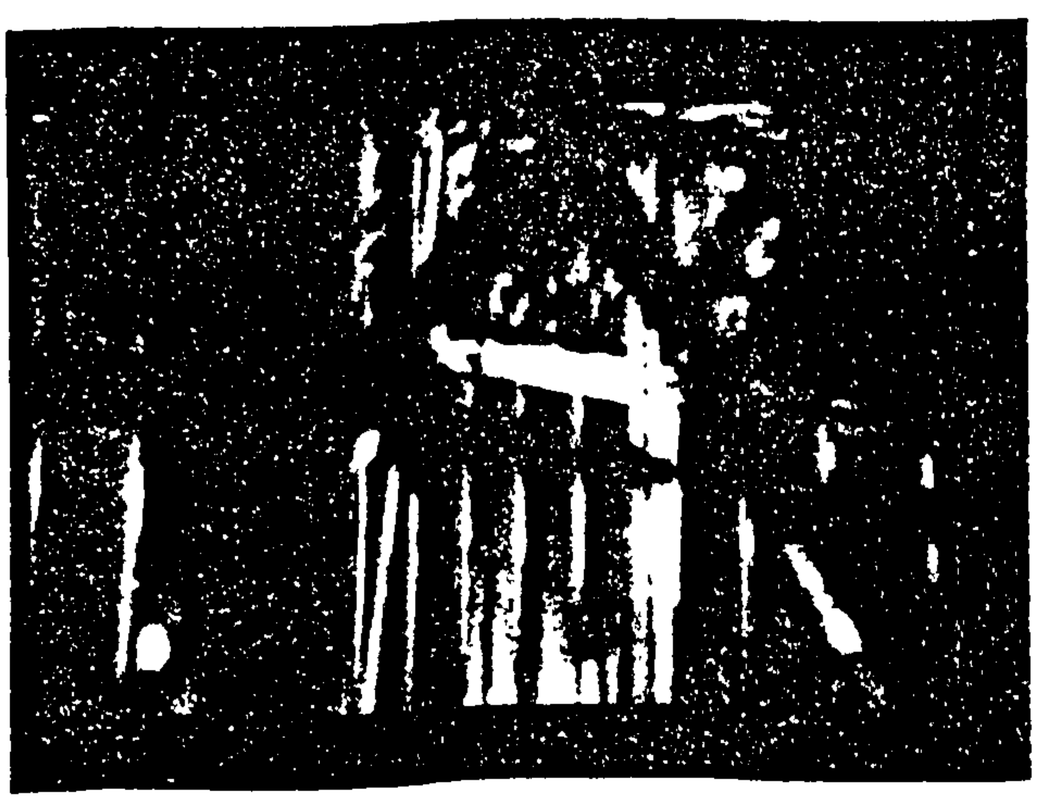
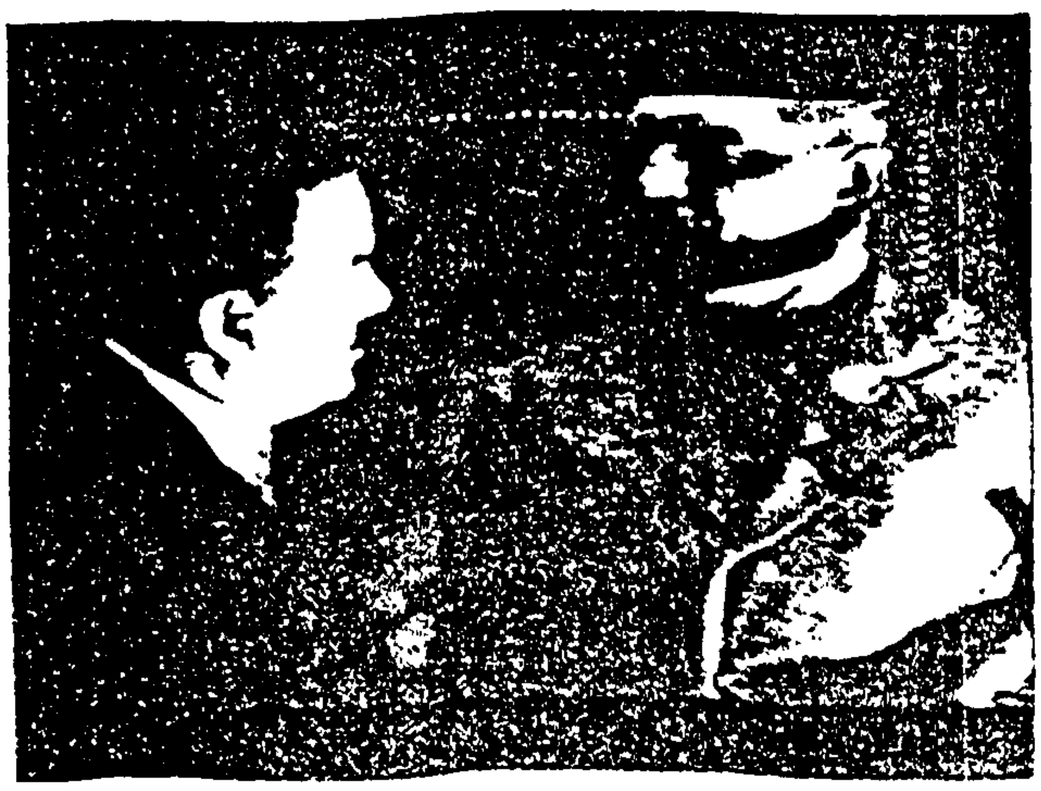


6.vi.a.

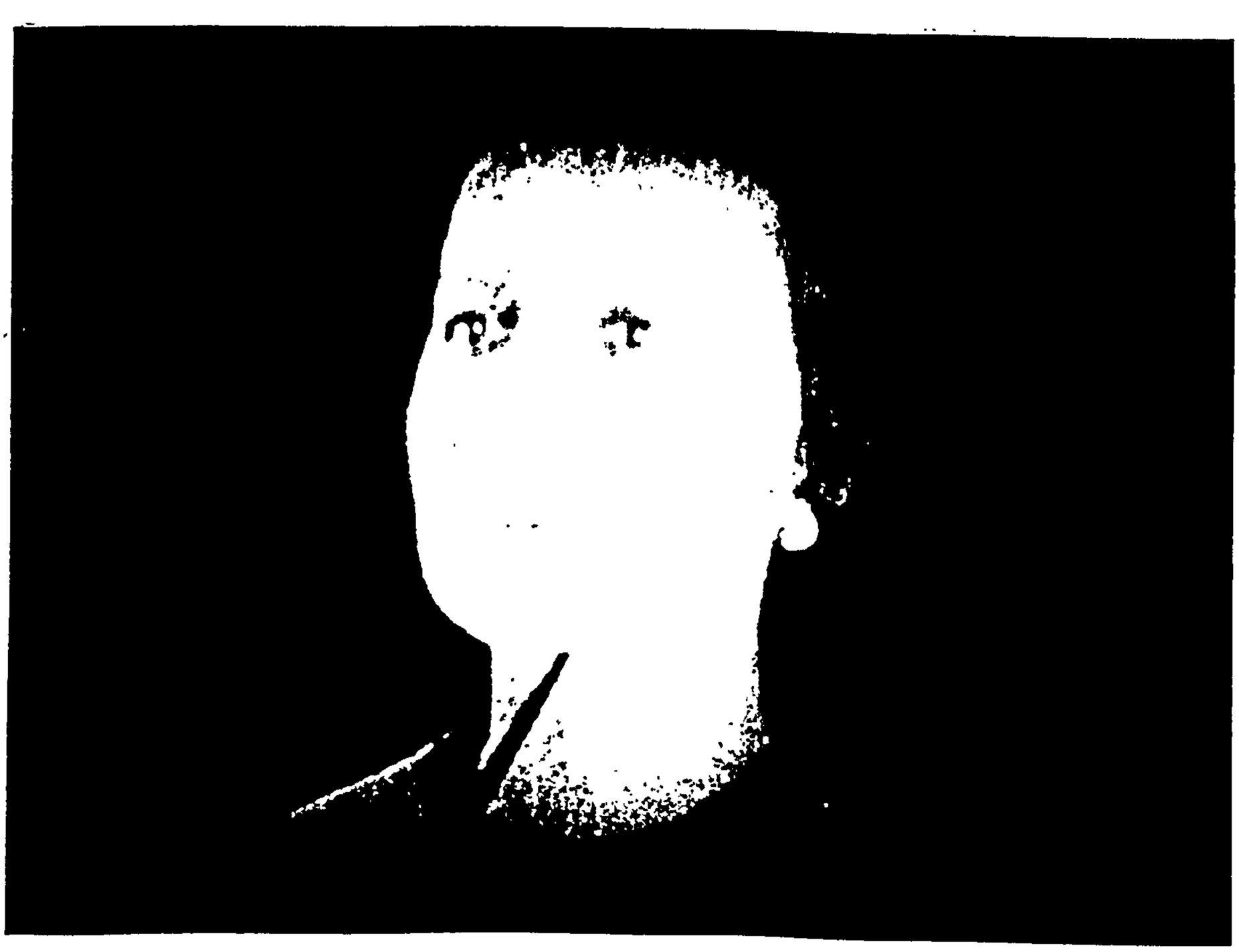


of lapses in continuity (continuity in a normative sense is not here at issue):

> Several times in Mother and in The end of St.Petersburg especially people who are supposed to be confronting each other are shot in close-up, each looking toward the same edge of the screen. Thus, they do not appear to be looking at each other but rather they appear to be looking at some third thing while they speak. 71

Dart criticises Pudovkin under the presumption that identity of space and causality of image is inherently necessary or natural to filmic coherence and comprehension; but such a presumption is, I think, generally insubstantiated and here, specifically, misplaced. Sometimes the same arresting image is repeated several times in a sequence (for instance, the strike leader and the peasant boy in absolute profile, earnestly gazing out of frame left) or the silhouetted shot of the strike leader, arm outstretched as he addresses the workers).(ill.6.viii) When the Bolshevik's wife is shown as the officer holds a bayonet to her throat, her chin uplifted, one is being presented with a gesture of defiance rendered in its most archetypal and photogenic form. Indeed, the shot appears to be specifically lit to this purpose: hitherto the face has been shown with the eyes sunk in shadow, the cheeks hollow (the low level of a basement): now the eyes open and the face is fully illuminated.(ill.6.vii)

When the peasant boy demands that Lebedev release his comrade, his determined features are starkly lit from below, exaggerating the set of the brow (there does not appear to be any explanation 'natural' to the mise-en-scène for this effect). Indeed, Barry Salt dubs such a shot "a cliché of the Soviet avant-garde".[72] The snapshot of the single gesture is itself, commented Rodchenko, a phenomenon not ordin-



arily available to the spectator; Rodchenko prefers a series of reductive snapshots to the synthetic portrait.[73] Noël Burch suggests that Eisenstein uses separate shots intending a synthesis, towards the plastic construction of an object[74] in space; by contrast, I suggest that these poster shots of Pudovkin retain their singularity and thereby derive their impact. Where Pudovkin does take the same object from a succession of clearly differentiated angles or positions, (for instance, of the police officer in Mother), this characterises the figure (his evasion of the direct gaze), is again subjectively expressive rather than sculpturally exploratory. Sometimes Pudovkin's snapshots imitate agitational posters more directly: hands raised in support of the Bolshevik leader recall posters of the revolution showing workers and the Red Army saluting the Flag. (See, for instance, Moor's 1918 'The glorious promise' or Klucis' 1930 'A practical plan for good work')[75] (ills.6.ix;x)

Pudovkin cites various distinguishing filmic devices which have become conventional and to which audiences have become accustomed. The portrayal on film of simultaneous events in different locations and flashes backwards and forwards, are spatial and temporal transpositions of naturally available experience. The screen close-up signifies a similarly altered perception, a similar cue. Theoretically, Pudovkin found no reason why "close-ups in time" could not be applied to concentrate and intensify attention and experimented with these in A Simple Case and in Deserter (the chain crashing, boomingly, onto the ship's deck).

> When the director shoots a scene, he changes the position of the camera, now approaching it to the actor, now taking it farther away from him, according to the subject of his concentration of

# ТОРЖЕСТВЕННОЕ ОБЕЩАНИЕ

при вступлении в Рабоче-Крестьянскую Красную армию.

1. Я, сын трудового народа, гражданин Советской Республики, принимаю на себя звание воина в Рабочей и Крестьянской армии.

2. Перед лицом трудящихся классов России и всего мира, я обязуюсь носить это звание с честью, добросовестно изучать военное дело и, как зеницу ока, охранять народное и военное имущество от ворчи и расхищения.

3. Я обязуюсь строго и неуклонно соблюдать революционную дисциплину и беспрекословно выполнять все приказы командиров, поставленных властью Рабочего и Крестьянского правительства.

4. Я обязуюсь воздерживаться сам и удерживать товарищей от всяких поступков, унижающих достоинство гражданина Советской Республики, и все свои действия и мысли направлять к великой цели освобождения всех трудящихся.

5. Я обязуюсь, по первому зову Рабочего и Крестьянского правительства, выступать на защиту Советской Республики от всяких опасностей и посягательств со стороны всех врагов, и в борьбе за Российскую Советскую Республику, за дело социализма и братства народов не щадить ни своих сил, ни самой жизни.

6. Если по злому умыслу отступлю от этого моего торжественного обещания, то да будет жизни уделом всеобщее презрение и да покарает меня суровая рука Революционного закона.

6.ix.

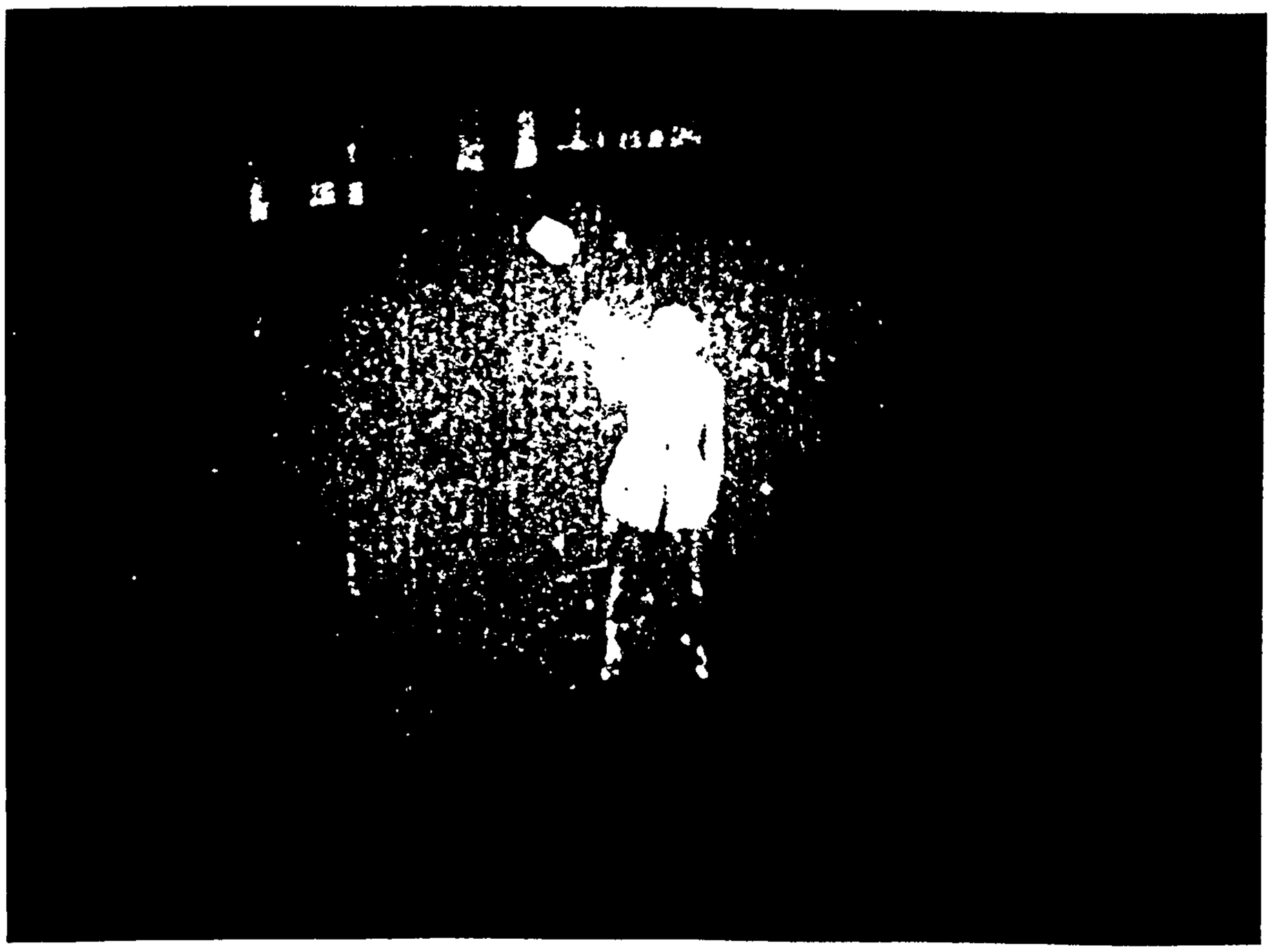

6.X.

> the spectator's attention...This is the way he controls the spatial construction of the scene. Why should he not do precisely the same with the temporal? Why should not a given detail be momentarily emphasised by retarding it on the screen, and rendering it by this means particularly outstanding and unprecedently clear. 76

Indeed, contrivances of performance speed were called for customarily, since early films had registered natural movement as apparently ridiculous: dance was known rarely to produce a good result on film. Pudovkin notes that Ivan Moskvin's rhythmic, emphatic movements in The Postmaster, made to accompany stage delivery of speech, did not achieve on film the desired effect:

> During the shooting, when the words were audible, the scene was effective...but on the screen it resulted as a painful and often ridiculous shuffling about on one spot...Gesture- movement accompanying speech, is unthinkable on the film. Losing its correspondence with the sounds that the spectator does not hear, it degenerates to a senseless muttering. The director in work with an actor must so construct the performance...that the significant point shall lie always in the movement, and the word accompany it only when required. 77

In The End of St.Petersburg, the Bolshevik's wife's frenetic rocking of her baby, which the spectator perceives as expressive of her extreme anxiety, was probably performed naturally and deliberately retained for this very effect. Similarly, the bourgeois' applause of Kerensky contributes to the rabid pace of the war.(ill.6.xi)(See introductory note re projection speeds) Pudovkin observes that fast-cranking had been used by Epstein in creating a dream-like aura around his adaptation of The House of Usher (1928), but censured the use of the device in this instance as too general.[78] Entr'acte, also cited by Pudovkin, includes a slow-motion sequence of a cortège and Murnau's Nosferatu features slow-cranking. Slow-motion was familiar in educational and



scientific films, slow-cranking had hitherto been used humorously and fast-cranking had been used to emphasise the balletic qualities of the stunts of such as Fairbanks, to further enhance what Shklovskii and Delluc coined "his grace and natural poetry".[79] In Storm over Asia, Pudovkin uses slow motion to heighten tension, as the troops turn against the Mongolians.

Ivor Montagu, in his notes to Film Technique, claims that the Russians, "as naturalists" were inclined to disfavour tracking shots as drawing attention to the camera.[80] The appellation and the explanation seem hard to credit (Bazin was later to praise Renoir for employing tracks and dollies as a naturalised, self-effaced technique) and odd given the conspicuous manoeuvring of spectator placement in different rapidly juxtaposed camera angles.[81] Furthermore, Montagu claims (more plausibly), tracking shots were resisted as inordinately expensive. Eisenstein argued that such shots prove unwieldy in cutting.[82] Certainly tracks had been used before the revolution, for instance by Bauer in Child of the Big City, where the spectator's attention is drawn to the dancer on stage in the background of a restaurant scene; or in Day Dreams where a track identifies a character's stream of attention as it is caught by a passing woman who reminds him of his dead wife.[83] Pudovkin similarly uses a moving camera subjectively. In The End of St.Petersburg, the slow track and pan as the Bolshevik's wife walks through the Winter Palace conveys the grandeur of the building, its monumental symmetry, her awe in attempting to encompass it in her gaze (and possibly also her trepidation). Intercut shots of her battered metal

potato kettle remind one of the incongruity, of her not being well acquainted with such finery. Given tracking as an acceptable option, when Pudovkin chooses not to use a track, I would contend, there is also significance in the selection of an alternative, in his favouring the use of a more effective means of "dynamisation of space". When the peasants arrive in St.Petersburg there is a close-up, full-square shot of the base of a marble column; the shot lends appreciable scale to the subsequent shot of the colonnaded portico, thereafter dissolved into subsequent similar shots. The dissolve and the fade, states Pudovkin, are commonly used to carry film action from one location to another, denoting a transition in time compressed and across space unseen.[84] Where the colonnade shots overlap and mix into one another, one moving sideways behind another in the opposite direction, there is a subjective impression of repetition, of the same thing being seen time and time again, of multiplicity and perplexity on the part of the peasants in this vast city of Italianate palaces and monuments, "which appear in the usual accounts of letters and poems", says Golovnia.[85] The shots of rising share prices are overlaid top to bottom in the war sequence to suggest that they are no sooner chalked up, than they are erased and superseded. The intervening title, "Forward, Forward!", matches the profiteering of the manufacturers' share-holders to the engagement and re-engagement of troops in battle. Fervour on the floor of the stock exchange is rendered subjectively, the camera shoots in the face of the frenzied, slavering speculators, it keels as the crowd jostles:

> While taking the first shots of the stock exchange we observed that wide shots of the action in the

background, on the staircase, turned out badly, the scene became static. We wanted to achieve a dynamic mass, because these shots of the agitation in the exchange were to be edited in parallel with the action at the front. To render the concept clearly, this composition was constructed to forward the action: a marked diagonal movement in the shots of the attack and a chaotic linearity in the shots of the exchange. In this way the conceptual difference of the two actions was emphasised plastically. The exchange is frenetic confusion, speculation, febrile movement, disorganised. The front is tension, decisiveness, strength.



"Rhythm is a modern catchword", says Pudovkin, "rhythm guided by the will of the director can and must be a powerful and secure instrument of effect".[87] For Panofsky, movement in a literal sense is of the essence of cinema, both in its founding and in the experience of it by an audience:

> It was not an artistic urge that gave rise to the discovery and gradual perfection of a new technique; it was a technical invention that gave rise to the discovery and gradual perfection of a new art...the primordial basis of the enjoyment of moving pictures was not an objective interest in a specific subject matter, but the sheer delight in the fact that things seemed to move...The spectator occupies a fixed seat, but only physically... aesthetically he is in permanent motion as his eye identifies itself with the lens of the camera, which permanently shifts in distance and direction. And as movable as the spectator is, as movable is, for the same reason, the space presented to him.
> [88]

The question remains whether cinema was experienced as a really new phenomenon or whether its particular aesthetic properties, the "dynamisation of space" and the "spatialisation of time" allowed for a new apprehension of the world. Certainly the mechanists found in the discovery of cinema a powerful means of asserting a theoretically consolidated world view. Bergson complains that absolute duration is wanting from their reality. But, although a film affords a substantive experience in time, Bergson's cinematic metaphor stresses the technical rather than the phenomenal. the procedural functions rather than the experience of the medium.

For Bergson, cinema does not afford a new knowledge, rather it confirms habitual misconceptions: "the mechanism of our knowledge is of a cinematographical kind":

> In order that the pictures may be animated, there must be movement somewhere...it is in the apparatus. It is because the film of the cinematograph unrolls, bringing in turn the different photographs of the scene to continue each other, that each actor of the scene recovers his mobility; he strings all his successive attitudes on the invisible movement of the film. The process then consists in extracting from all the movements peculiar to all the figures an impersonal movement abstract and simple, movement in general, so to speak; we put this into the apparatus, and we reconstitute the individuality of each particular movement by combining this name- of the cinematograph. And such is also that of our knowledge. Instead of attaching ourselves to the inner becoming of things, we place ourselves outside them in order to recompense their becoming artificially ...Perception, intellection, language so proceed in general. 89

Bergson endorses the mechanistic position that cinema reconstructs a logical computation but asserts that its superficial semblance of reality is spuriously founded in custom rather than truth.

1. David Bordwell, 'Eisenstein's Epistemological Shift' Screen 15.4 (1974-75) 33.

2. I.P.Pavlov, Lectures on Conditioned Reflexes, trans. Gantt (London: 1928) 121.

3. V.M.Bekhterev, General Principles of Human Reflexology, trans.Murphy (London: 1933) 41.

4. ed.Jeffrey Gray, Pavlov's Typology, (Oxford: 1964) 37.

5. Bekhterev, op.cit. 33.

6. V.I.Lenin, On the Question of Dialectics (1921), (Moscow: 1980) 8.

7. Ernst Mach, The Science of Mechanics (London: 1919) 505.

8. ibid. xi:"[because I had already published] Dühring... did not particularly influence me- nevertheless there are many points of agreement with Dühring and Avenarius and the criticisms here expressed".

9. V.I.Lenin, Materialism and Empirio-Criticism (1909) (London: 1952) 37; for Lenin's shortcomings as a philosopher in this work, see Richard T. de George Patterns of Soviet Thought (Michigan: 1966) 146-160; for faults in Lenin's understanding of science, see David Joravsky, Russian Psychology (Oxford: 1989) 193.

10. Bekhterev, op.cit. 74.

11. ibid. 61.

12. ibid. 43.

13. Henri Bergson, Creative Evolution (London: 1911) 287.

14. ibid. 386: Bergson is replying to Herbert Spencer, The Principles of Psychology (London: 1855) note p.534: "The reflex action being the lowest form of psychical life, is, by implication, that which is most nearly related to the physical life- that in which we see the incipient differentiation of the psychical from the physical life".

15. Piet Mondriaan, Plastic Art and Pure Plastic Art (New York: 1945) 14.

16. Bergson, Pensée et Mouvement (1935) qu.Frank Popper Origins and Development of Kinetic Art (London: 1968) 224.

17. ibid. 57.

18. see Popper, op.cit. 43-47.

19. Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Vision in Motion (Chicago: 1956) 218.

20. Fernand Léger, Functions of Painting ed.F.F.Fry (London: 1973) 63.

21. Mondriaan, op.cit. 27.

22. Edward Braun, Meyerhold on Theatre (London:1969) 64.

23. Erwin Panofsky, 'Style and Medium in the Motion Pictures' in Film: An Anthology ed.D.Talbot (Berkeley: 1967) 18.

24. Elie Faure 'The Art of Cineplastics' in ibid. 5.

25. Rudolph Arnheim, Film as Art (London: 1958) 58; Roger Fry, Vision and Design (London: 1990)

26. Léger, op.cit.

27. Faure, op.cit. 6.

28. FT

29. see Roshal in Experiment in the Film, ed.Roger Manvell (London: 1949)

30. Anatoli Golovnia, La luce nell'arte dell'operatore (Rome: 1951) 260.

31. see David Bordwell, French Impressionist Cinema (New York: 1980) 108-115; also Louis Delluc 'Photogénie'in Esprit Nouveau (1921)

32. SME I 57.

33. V.I.Pudovkin, 'Fotogeniia' ARK zhurnal 4-5 (1925) 9.

34. SME I 56.

35. FT 26.

36. Golovnia. op.cit. 258.

37. 'Fotogeniia' 9.

38. Ronald Levaco, Kuleshov on Film (Berkeley: 1974) 7.

39. FT 8.

40. ibid. 91.

41. ibid. 90.

42. ibid. 12.

43. Iezuitov, Pudovkin (Moscow: 1937) and Schnitzers, Poudovkine (Paris: 1966); see also chapter nine, below

44. FT

45. ibid. 33.

46. Fyodor Dostoevski, Notes from Underground (Harmondsworth: 1972) 17. trans.Magarshack

47. A.S.Pushkin, Mednyi Vsadnik (London: 1961)

48. Golovnia, op.cit. 258.

49. Yuri Tsivian, History of Film Reception in Russia (London: 1994) 52.

50. Hugo Münsterberg, Psychology of the Photoplay (1916) (New York: 1970)
A contrary, non-neutral effect was produced when films were shown at incorrect projection speeds; for instance, the notorious case of the first London screening of Potemkin, synchronised to Meisel's score, rendered the rising lions sequence ridiculous.

51. FT 158; Andrei Tarkovski suggested that succumbing to the temporal substance of a film was the primary phenomenal attraction of the experience; see Sculpting In Time (London: 1986)

52. 'Über den Montagerhythmus', Zapasnik and Petrovich, Wsewold Pudowkin, die Zeit in Grossaufnahme (Berlin: 1983)

53. FT xv.

54. see Joseph and Barbara Anderson 'Motion Perception in Picture' in eds.de Lauretis and Heath, The Cinematic Apparatus (London: 1980) also Joseph Anderson, The Reality of Illusion (Carbondale: 1996)

55. Béla Balázs, Theory of the Film (London: 1952) 61.

56. see Vlada Petrić, Constructivism in Film Cambridge: 1987) 139.

57. John Reed, Ten Days that shook the World (1926), (Harmondsworth: 1982) 82.

58. FT xi.

59. ibid. 63

60. Peter Dart, Pudovkin's Films and Film Theory (New York: 1974) 103.

61. Richard Stites, Revolutionary Dreams (Oxford: 1989) 65: "in Petrograd a commission of art experts and officials appointed by the government decided to eliminate all Romanov statues except for the Bronze Horseman, the magnificent equestrian statue of Peter I in Senate Square- a debate erupted and it was decided to save Nicholas in St.Isaac's Square and Catherine II also.

62. Andrei Bely, St.Petersburg, trans.Cournos (London: 1960) 251.

63. Balázs, op.cit. 111.

64. Brandon Taylor, Art and Literature under the Bolsheviks II (London:1992) 107: Kushner's 1928 challenge to Rodchenko; Kuleshov's disagreement with Rodchenko did not prevent their working together successfully, on The Female Journalist, for instance.

65. SME I 57.

66. Levaco, op.cit.

67. see, for a useful discussion, Linda Williams, ed. Viewing Positions (New Brunswick: 1995)

68. sometimes foreground architecture was darkened and backgrounds lightened; Yuri Tsivian tells me (July 1993) that this imitated Danish practice.
see also Tsivian's paper from Bradford conference 1996

69. Levaco, op.cit.

70. see Germain Bazin, Degas and Photography and Aaron Scharff, Art and Photography (Harmondsworth: 1974)

71. Dart, op.cit. 110.

72. Barry Salt, Film Style and Technology (London: 1992) 192.

73. 'Against the Synthetic Portrait' in John E.Bowlt, ed. Russian Art of tha Avant-Garde (London: 1988)

74. Noël Burch, Theory of Film Practice (London: 1973) 32-50.

75. The Soviet Political Poster, Lenin Library Collection (Moscow: 1984)

76. FT

77. ibid.

78. ibid. 153.

79. Delluc,

80. FT 182.

81. André Bazin, What is Cinema? trans.Gray, (Berkeley: 1967) 29.

82. 'Architecture and Montage' in SME II

83. for a discussion of early tracking see Tsivian, op.cit. 205-207 and Tsivian and Cherchi Usai, Silent Witnesses (London: 199 )

84. FT

85. Golovnia, op.cit. 260.

86. ibid. 262.

87. FT 104.

88. Panofsky, op.cit. 19.

89. Bergson, op.cit. 323-324; see also Jonathan Crary in Leo Charney and Vanessa Schwartz, eds., Cinema and the Invention of Modern Life (Berkeley: 1995)

МЕЖРАБПОМ РУСЬ

# МАТЬ


7.iv.

## 7. The film as a specific work of art and experience

### A concern with the specificity of media

Film theory in Soviet Russia, as elsewhere, heralded its subject as a new phenomenon, celebrated it for its prerogative as the most contemporary of all arts. Sokolov, in Kino Fot 1 (1922), celebrates film as the new philosophy, the new science and the new art, a new form of education and propaganda, entirely suited to the new needs of the century. In his 1927 'The Nature of Cinema', the formalist theoretician Boris Kazanski endorses the earlier enthusiasiasms of Elliot and Münsterberg (see chapter two, above):

> Cinema arose within our own memeory and literally developed before our eyes. Thus its study presents possibilities and promises results which cannot be obtained for the other arts, whose origins extend far back into the darkness of time, hidden from sober investigation by the fog of legend and the dogma of tradition. 1

Theory strove to identify cinema's peculiar characteristics and to establish terms by which film could be evaluated as an art. Paradoxically, to this end it often resorted to the authority of a cultural heritage, discovering in it portents of cinematic practice. Furthermore, in the course of establishing its own aesthetic (even an aesthetic which was sometimes fiercely anti-art), writing on cinema partakes in a discussion of more general cultural issues: the purpose of art, the means whereby the art work affects its audience and the relationship of the artist to that audience. Film is acknowledged as something distinct but simultaneously as an amalgam which espouses a number of other arts, which inherits its content and form from other arts and which is most often received by the audience for whom it is intended as part of a syncretic experience, aided and abetted by its musical

accompaniment.

In Film Technique, Pudovkin narrates the history of film as a progression away from theatre. In its first phase, film was no more than living photography and did no more than record the art of the actor. In its second phase, he says, film managed to accomplish distinct transitions of space and time of which the traditional theatre was incapable: between acts such concentrations and leaps had been made but not within the duration of a single scene.[2] "The film director...can concentrate in time not only separate incidents but even the movements of a single person. This process, that has often been termed a 'film trick', is, in fact, nothing other than the characteristic method of filmic representation".[3] However, it should be noted that Pudovkin uses a conventional example of theatrical practice to underscore the line of progression which he wishes to trace. Not only had various cinematic strategies been indicated in avant-garde theatre but the two areas of practice were becoming mutually informing, exchanging personnel and procedures and sharing a range of theoretical concerns. Pudovkin praised Meierkhold for discovering and representing a contemporary theme in his staging of the classics.[4](see chapter five, above) Regarding the disciplines broadly, it is significant that Meierkhold had used a form of close-up in the overscaling of props for his production of Masquerade and in the isolation of essential set dressings for the artist's studio in Krampton.[5] Close-ups of objects were already familiar in films of the teens and Meierkhold himself commented in 1914 upon a difference in procedure which he then perceived:

> ...in cinema an object appears on screen for util-

> itarian reasons; in the studio (in a pantomime) an object appears so as to afford the actor the chance to make use of it in order to make the spectator happy or sad...The cinema's principal aim is to grip the spectator by means of the plot. In pantomime, the spectator is gripped not by plot but by the manner in which the actor's free inspiration manifests itself through his sole desire to dominate the stage. 6

Meierkhold had attempted to stage flashbacks and in 1907, in Spring Awakening, had lit action in different parts of the stage space to present them to the spectator in quick succession, juxtaposing the isolated pieces in a putative montage.[7] Eisenstein carried the programme of disparate elements of his staged spectacles (which had included such stunts as a boxing match and the short film Glumov's Diary inserted into Every Wise Man) into the collage of grotesques in Strike.(1924). In a narrower aspect, it is significant that Meierkhold's collective, including Eisenstein, shared a building with Kuleshov's workshop in the early 1920's, enabling their actors to train together.[8] Meierkhold's elemental exercises in biomechanics, the intention, realisation and refusal of action, have much in common with Kuleshov's reduction of basic tasks into separate attitudes, à la Delsarte. Whereas, in rehearsal, the complete action was differentiated into its separate units by the deliberate and adept control of the actor over the body, with Kuleshov the units could be separately shot then assembled.

Pudovkin says that his own awareness of the potential for film as an art came with a fortuitous meeting with Kuleshov. He has little to say in Kino-stenarii and Kino-rezhisser i Kino-material of his previous apprenticeship with Gardin, certainly he does not choose to credit him as a formative influence.[9] Pudovkin, like Balázs, says that the

Americans were the first to seize the peculiar possibilities of film as other than a photographic record and is dismissive of film practice before Griffith.[10] Pudovkin reiterates Kuleshov's thesis that film needs must discover its own proper materials and usage, is required to reveal its 'core' in order to be recognised as an art alongside its ancient predecessors:

> It appears to me that every art has its own specific quality which is what makes it an art. Painting cannot exist without colours; sculpture without plastic material. The cinema consists of fragments and the assembly of those fragments, elements which in reality are distinct...All this...convinced me of the necessity to consider montage as the basic means of cinema art, the specific fundamental quality of the medium. [11]

Montage, and more especially Kuleshov's use thereof, is proclaimed by Pudovkin as the conspicuous founding moment of film as art, dismissing any debt to the efforts of 'primitive' film-makers. Meanwhile, Kuleshov is keen to draw a parallel between his art and exemplary style elsewhere: he says that Tolstoi refers to the equivalent of montage as 'connection' and Kuleshov and Eisenstein refer to Pushkin: "You can take any poem by Pushkin and number the shots...";[12] Eisenstein refers to the pertinence of imagery to theme in Zola: "...his pages read like complete cue sheets", and recommends him in retrospect to Pudovkin: "I criticised Pudovkin because he did not read 'Money' before filming the stock exchange for 'The End of St.Petersburg'. It would have turned out even better if he had".[13]

The over-emphasis in the 1920's on montage, later to be censured, was surely prompted in no small part by this compunction to affirm artistic status for film. However, even in the 1920's Pudovkin seems to deal in the theoretical

currency without being consistently tied to it in practice. Whereas Kuleshov can tend towards the apprehension of fragmentation as the end product in the spectator, Pudovkin is often more intent upon accomplishing summation and synthesis. The constituent shots of Kuleshov's experiments seem static and self-contained: for instance, the 1921 sequence in which Khoklova and a man meet; a close-up of a handshake; she points; he looks.* But such experiments were deliberately staged to test a particular hypothesis and are not extracted from a larger scenario. The conclusion, I think, is twofold: that a conceptual event can be broken-down (differentiated) into a logical sequence and that the concept can be constructed (integrated) from individual pieces shot in isolation. For Eisenstein, the concept often does not arise before this integration, there is no previous referent.(see chapter nine, below) Bazin narrowly construes the concept as a pro-filmic event to which montage can only allude, and requires that the differentiation process be effaced by a subsequent integration.(see chapter eight, below) In the interests of economy, Kuleshov endeavoured to find the minimum number of shots in which the integration can be effected; for Kuleshov this minimum is the optimum. Minima were necessitated by strict economic constraints; but the notion of economy was also scientistically and aesthetically appealing.[14] The proof of Kuleshov's hypothetical 'created geography' and 'created woman' resides in the necessary synthesis being effected in the spectator's imagination, the synthesis which Pudovkin says ought to be actively assisted by

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*shown at Pordenone Film Festival, 1996

movement forging a transition from, for example, a long shot cut to a close-up.[15] By means of the engagement of imagination, as much as by editorial intervention, montage renders film a creative and not merely an imitative art. The assemblage of depictions of features from a number of women to render an impression of a unitary ideal is at least as old as Zeuxis. Kuleshov and Zeuxis follow a similar procedure, deviating from the mere imitation of nature, the difference is that Zeuxis organises his parts into a simultaneous objective whole whereas Kuleshov offers them successively.[16] Pudovkin likewise is aware of Meierkhold's sequence from preparation to completed action and that the impression of the action is enhanced in the representation of the sequence. However, rather than cutting between successive segments Pudovkin employs a strategy which is less visually disruptive and which better retains an image of unity: in Storm over Asia, the withdrawal of the Mongol, the gathering of his strength before he strikes the white man, is fast-cranked and decelerated for the viewer, the blow itself appears accelerated in force within the context of the sequence. The movement is performed whole, partially intensified. "Slow-motion in editing", says Pudovkin, "is not a distortion of an actual process. It is a portrayal more profound and precise, a conscious guidance of the attention of the spectator. This is the eternal characteristic of cinematography".[17] Pudovkin declines montage in favour of more pressing concerns.

A respect for the integrity of a particular performance sometimes urges Pudovkin to opt for a locked-off, frontal mid-shot of a scene, purposefully using conventional

dramatic chiaroscuro lighting to direct the spectator's attention and emotion. Golovnia refers also to the influence of painters, Rembrandt especially.[18] Pudovkin asserts:

> There is one more element characteristic for the work of the director with the actor- that is light, that light without which neither object nor human being nor anything else has existence on the film ...An actor unlit is nothing. An actor lit only so as to be visible is a simple, undifferentiated, in definite object. This same light can be altered and constructed in such a way as to make it enter as an organic component into the actor's work. The composition of the light can eliminate much, emphasise much, and bring out with such strength the expressive work of the actor, that it becomes apparent that light is not simply a condition for the fixation of expressive work by the actor, but in itself represents a part of this expressive work. Remember the face of the priest in The Battleship Potemkin, lit from underneath. [19]

In Mother, Mikhail Vlasov's body is laid out centre frame, foreshortened. As the scene opens, two figures, shrouded in black, sit with their backs to the spectator, camera left. The mother sits immobile to the right of the body, her face white against the dark background. The two figures turn and are seen to be wailing babushki. They move away and the mother continues to sit, motionless, eyes fixed blankly. Although Pudovkin here uses a tonal and volumetric construction resembling a form of 'internal montage' in Eisenstein, I suggest that its employment is the consequence less of a predilection for graphism per se than of a reluctance to detract from the dull resignation conveyed in the duration of Baranovskaia's performance. Here again, the scene defers to Pudovkin's general pronouncement that "arousing emotion in the spectator is the true end of all art" and that it is the film-maker's task to find the means whereby this can best be achieved on screen.[20]

Pudovkin prefaces Film Technique with an analogy be-

tween film practice and literature. It is a common-sense statement directed at persuading his readers of what is to follow:

> To the poet or writer separate words are as raw material. They have the widest and most variable meanings which only begin to become precise through their position in the sentence...To the film director each shot of the finished film subserves the same purpose as the word to the poet.
> 21

Film Technique was compiled from a number of lectures and the 1926 publications, Kino-stsenarii and Kino-rezhisser i Kino-material. Eikhenbaum published Literature and Film in 1926 and Viktor Shklovskii Poetry and Prose (including his discussion of Mother) in 1927.[22] His article 'Semantika Kino' appears in ARK zhurnal 8 (1925).[23] However, Pudovkin does not enter into a theoretical debate with these contemporaries much exercised by the possible psychological or semantic foundations of his analogy.(see chapter eight, below) Amidst the wranglings of the Formalists and the contentions of Eisenstein and Vertov towards a suitably Realist theory, Pudovkin is wont to express vague and vaguely idealistic sentiments. Montage is for Pudovkin "...a selection naturally conditioned in advance by that filmic image ...which exists in the head of the director long before its actual appearance on the screen".[24] Beyond paying his required obeissance to montage, Pudovkin seems untroubled in the early writings by any pressure to appear intellectually or culturally 'au courant'. Pudovkin does not refer to contemporary avant-garde practice in literature or criticism in an attempt to locate his own work favourably alongside it. In contrast, Eisenstein not only cites major literary figures at home and abroad but also subjects their work to specifically cinematic scrutiny:

...Fedorchenko is a more accessible and less expensive 'edition' of James Joyce.
Ulysses is of course the most interesting phenomenon for cinema in the West.
I don't know about the literary aspect but I think the same applies there.
At any rate, however odd it may seem, I am familiar with Joyce's writings.
I don't have to read him at night in a hurry, like I did Dreiser the night before my official meeting with him.
Fedorchenko and Joyce are very close to contemporary cinema. Certainly more than half way to what lay ahead.
They use the same 'de-anecdotalisation' and the direct emergence of the theme through powerfully effective raw material.
This may be completely tangential to the plot that only figures in the work because the author is conscientious.
The same 'physiologism' of detail.
In close-up.
In a purely intellectual effect, an abstract conclusion from their physiological methods.
Cinema again.
There is, of course, significantly more in Joyce.
To meet the demands of the denunciatory, polemical and other multiple tasks that Ulysses or The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man set themselves.
Fedorchenko is more like a fixing agent but her construction is the same.



When Pudovkin refers to Maiakovskii or Meierkhold it comes more by way of a personal anecdote. Even when referring (rarely) to classical authors, Pudovkin is predominently concerned with his personal preferences and their potential as sources of cinematic impulses, of 'plastic raw material', or, as for Eisenstein. of the deliberacy with which details are selected, rather than with finding in them precedents for a definite structure. Of his adaptation of Mother, Pudovkin says: "Mother began for me with the image of the mother crushed, firstly in a general perception of the atmosphere of Gorki's novel and secondly in the final emotional shock: the mother under the horses' hooves".[26]

A film adaptation

Soon after the revolution, major works of Russian literature, including those of Pushkin, Tolstoi, Turgenev, Gogol and Gorki, were declared the property of the state. There was, says Jeffrey Brooks, "a widely shared belief that Russian literature could serve as a bridge between classes";

> There was a perception on the part of many educated Russians that they had a moral obligation to influence and contribute to cultural development.. a shared common belief that 'proper' literature was a necessary beacon to guide the Russian peasant...
> Efforts to mould the literary taste of the common reader were also an expression of a more fundamental desire to bring common people into a consensus of values shared by educated Russians or to create a new consensus incorporating the values of the common people...Success in this endeavour woul would both discharge the intelligentsia's debt to the people and close the gap between the common people and the rest of society. 27

These efforts took the form of disseminating cheaper editions of the approved texts and, in recognition of the high rate of illiteracy (2 out of 5 Russians in the 1920's could not read) cinema was enlisted as a suitable means of acquainting a broad public with its cultural heritage.[28] Indeed, literary adaptations, as period costume pieces, had been a staple of the pre-revolutionary Film d'Art movement and in 1918, a competition was launched for a scenario based on a work by Turgenev, to mark his centenary.[29] More specifically, cinema was to be exploited as a medium capable of popularising an officially approved canon of masterworks in which the lineage of the revolution was affirmed. "Once a work was officially recognised as a classic its ideological soundness was taken for granted", observes Anna Lawton.[30] The Mother was held in especially high regard for the favour which it found with Lenin and for its reputedly having been written with his consultation;[31] Richard Stites dubs

him "the semi-official bard of Bolshevism".[32] Furthermore, Gorki as an individual was esteemed as something of a hero, a son of the soil sharing "the values of the common people", and a political descendant of Chernishevski, having suffered censorship and exile under the ancien-régime.[33] (see chapter three, above)

Gorki had based his novel on events at the Krasnoe Sormovo plant in Nizhni-Novgorod and the character of Pavel Vlasov on the leader of a May Day demonstration, Pavel Zalomov. In court, the demonstrators conducted their own defence before being sentenced to prison.[34] Nathan Zarkhi, Pudovkin's scenarist, drew additionally on reports in Pravda of cavalry troops being sent in against strikers in Tver in 1905 (ill.7.i); Eisenstein similarly based Strike on events in Rostov-on-Don.[35] Fault had been found by Lunacharski with Razumny's 1919 film adaptation for being merely episodic; Mariamov, Pudovkin's biographer, says that the earlier version was found wanting in precisely those capacities which critical opinion was to find exemplified in its successor.* The 1926 adaptation took liberties with the original in order to emphasise a political theme. "The idea of content does not refer to subject matter, in the ordinary sense of the term, but to social purpose", said Trotski.[36] This necessary summation is pointed by the particularity of loc-

.....

*Razumny names Pavel's comrades individually and occupies himself with a quantity of background information; the mother similarly nurses her husband in spite of his dissolute past and his cruelty towards her; her religiousness is more clearly marked (paintings on the wall, icons on a corner shelf) as is her later contribution to the comrades' conversations and her reading of 'Proletarians of all Countries'; pamphlets are shown to provide sufficient cause for arrest. Razumny similarly cast actors from MKhAT.

...ских или хозяйственной работы.

Окончание весенней сельской работы совпало с тем, что 26 проц. членов союза активно вступили в ту или другую кооперативную работу. За два года прибавилось 7.642 сознательно-активных сельских органа и рабочих комиссий. Последние перевыборы низовых сельских органов по новым методам дали обновление сельского аппарата от 50 до 75 проц. и увеличили количество беспартийных рабочих в этих органах союза до 40 проц. На очереди практическое осуществление основной перемены только что закончившегося партийного с'езда: «Еще ближе приблизить весь свой аппарат к масс, приспособить все формы и методы своей работы к развитию пролетарской активности и самодеятельности, вовлечению и воспитанию сознательного меньшинства низших слоев рабочих, подготовляя тем новые и миллионные новые тысячи и десятки тысяч рабочих [illegible] ...ленной стройной стоит тактическая задача по сооружению гужевых мостов в ключевых пунктах рек (Волго-Донской канал, ...ключение Днепровских порогов и т. д.).

Советское правительство уже начало предпринимать работы в этом направлении и надо надеяться, что в ближайшие годы необычное станет осуществимым. То, о чем мы мечтали, через несколько лет начнет осуществляться на основе повышенного технического уровня нашего производства.

Мы не сомневаемся, что VII с'езд работников-водников разрешит стоящие перед ним задачи в согласии с постановлениями недавно закончившегося с'езда Всесоюзной коммунистической партии (большевиков).

Под руководством коммунистической партии рабочие-водники пойдут к новым боям, к новым победам.

А. ИЩЕНКО.

[illegible] ...ские поездки членов ЦИК и СНК СССР по стране. Перед отъездом в Америку Генрих Форд заявил, что он намерен в скором времени посетить Советский Союз. Форд выразил надежду, что ему удастся встретиться с Сталиным, Рыковым и Калининым. Форд заявил, что он намерен в скором времени посетить Советский Союз. Форд выразил надежду, что ему удастся встретиться с Сталиным, Рыковым и Калининым.

## Приезд г. Гемпеля.

На-днях в Москву прибыл известный польский публицист Ян Гемпель для ознакомления с СССР и его достижениями в области советского строительства.

Г-н Гемпель посетил О-во культурной связи с заграницей, Наркомпрос, Моссовет, а также ознакомился с различными советскими учреждениями.

Г-н Гемпель пробудет в Москве около месяца.

## Поездка русских писателей на Восток.

Писатели Борис Пильняк, Всеволод Иванов, профессор Коган и артисты Малого театра Щербиновская и середино января едут в Японию с целью ознакомления с японской литературой и искусством. Из Японии они на пароходе обогнут азиатский материк, при чем особенно подробно предполагают ознакомиться с Индией. Поездка продолжится до августа.

[illegible] ...ники партии и крупных государственных товаров.

Борьба против каких-либо местных случаев спекуляции, установление прибыльных наценок на товары государственной и кооперативной торговли должна вестись при участии торговых работников. Только органы должны информировать своих работников о порядке производства расценок и наценок на товары.

## По поводу внесения проекта бюджетной комиссии были сняты вопросы

...рассмотрения бюджета на 1925—26 г. в порядке бюджетной комиссии, назначенное на 30 января. Утренние заседания 20 января предполагается посвятить общему докладу Совнаркома СССР о государственном бюджете на 1925—26 г. и докладу контрольного управления об исполнении государственной росписи на 1923—24 г. и предварительных данных по исполнению росписи на 1924—25 г.; вечерние заседания будет посвящено общим прениям по докладу Совнаркома. Дополнительная часть бюджета будет рассмотрена на утренних и вечерних заседаниях 31 января и 1 февраля.

В течение 2 и 3 февраля будет рассматриваться расходная часть бюджета. 4 и 5 февраля будут рассматриваться доходы союзных республик и доклад о бюджетных правах Союза и союзных республик. Рассмотрение бюджета в целом [illegible] ...предполагается закончить на вечернем заседании 6 февраля.

Перед обсуждением каждого вопроса по бюджету будет заслушиваться краткий объяснительный доклад Совнаркома и специально созданных членов бюджетной комиссии, занимающихся предварительным рассмотрением отдельных частей бюджета. Бюджеты союзных республик будут рассматриваться каждый в отдельности.

Поступившие в бюджетную комиссию протесты ведомств и учреждений Союза ССР, а также правительств союзных республик на постановления Совнаркома Союза по бюджету будут рассматриваться при обсуждении соответствующих частей последнего.

Председателю бюджетной комиссии поручены т. Ветошкину сделать на пленуме информационный доклад по вопросу об изменении действующего закона о бюджетных правах Союза и союзных республик.

[illegible] ...ликвидационных комиссий. Комиссия рассмотрела [illegible] ...в месяц. На апрель намечено 100 заседаний.

—• 23 января в Москве скончался от [illegible] ...ной пневмонии ЦК МОПР СССР, на которого отовсюду [illegible] ...ли Лепешинский, Танский, Кушнер и др.

—• По данным ЦК МОПР, за последние месяцы отказано политическим [illegible] ...в пользу политических тюрем от комиссии [illegible] ...гимназий СССР 496 писем и получено [illegible] ...тюрем 180.

—• Сегодня в помещении клуба «Каторга и ссылка» в 7 час. вечера состоится вечер, посвященный воспоминаниям участников 1905 года.

—• Бесплатная выдача электрических очков и пенсне по рецептам [illegible] ...амбулатория будет производиться [illegible] ...по их личной записи, в два назначенных [illegible] ...приемных часа.

—• Для поддержания [illegible] ...ков Германии [illegible] ...Германии и Бельгии 84 плененных [illegible].

—• Общество «Радиопередача» [illegible] ...чает в свой [illegible] ...ный узел аудитория [illegible] ...ва Свободных университетов и публичному [illegible] ...на Маховой улице.

—• Трест [illegible] ...ского зона [illegible] ...домами первого [illegible] ...ина для Москов[illegible]-Курской [illegible] ...ор.

# 1905 год

(Тяжелые воспоминания).

События этого памятного года застали меня в Твери. Лишь за 3—4 месяца до событий 9 января я вышел на свободу из стен Таганской тюрьмы и сразу погрузился в гущу работы творческой организации*). Кроме общей партийной работы, жизнь организовала в конце 1904 года была наполнена еще кипучей и связи с организацией бюро комитета большевиков.

Непосредственной почвой движения трудящихся нашей организацией, «Дело» события 9 января застали все в сильном брожении. Чтобы реагировать тем-нибудь на исторические события, комитет решил устроить стачку протеста тогда способом: организованная группа рабочих организует забастовку и снимается с работы на улицу. Инициатива, в чью которого находился и я, сначала против такого решения, ссылаясь на то, что рабочие даже еще не осведомлены окончательно образом о событиях в Питере, так как мы не успели еще выпустить листовок.

Это предприятие закончилось неудачей. Пока шли его подготовительные работы, в корпусе другие «Говорили, что, вероятно, как двери были закрыты и оказалось их забитыми подмастерьями и черносотенной бандой, организованной инженерами Марксом. В результате были сильно избиты И. Тимофеев (Гага) и рабочий Кузнецов; они были отправлены в больницу, остальным удалось разными путями выбраться благополучно. Тогда же получили понятие все и те другие фабрики.

Черносотенная группа была очень подбодрена избиением рабочих. Вот на это событие сильно отозвалась в особенности работа

Более или менее выделяющаяся выступлением творческая организация за этот период было прекращение 1-го мая. Оно было организовано в Желтиковской роще (за Морозовской фабрикой), где собралось человек 300 организованных рабочих. Был произнесен ряд речей (среди выступивших помню только Мажестова), а затем рабочие с развернутыми красными знаменами двинулись к Морозовской фабрике. Когда поравнялись с казенными окопами, то из-за них, засыпи черносотенцы произвели в нас несколько выстрелов. Наши демонстранты ответили тем же, и черносотенцы убежали в ворота фабрики. Когда показались военные командиры, мы сконцентрировали убрать знамена, рассеяться и смешаться с публикой, которой в это время собралось очень много. Черносотенцы, увидев командиров, снова выбежали из ворот и начали избивать преимущественно Мажестову и интеллигентов-присяжных Шумкта. Пришлось вступить в бой револьвер. После двух выстрелов, которыми был ранен один из наиболее[illegible] Мажестову, черносотенцы разбежались.

В июне было выступление приказчиков Морозовской ф-ки, которое вылилось совершенно случайным, неожиданным и было прекращено, кажется, для через два. Комитет, однако, решил использовать это выступление и устроить общий митинг на площади возле оранжерейной фабрики, в центре города.

Митинг должен был [illegible] ...ораторами были Марусин и «Дед» (А. Бушнев). При появлении силой митинг стал расходиться.

Черносотенная группа, [illegible] ...ся чем со дня упомянутого [illegible] ...рабочих, стала преследовать ораторов и группу рабочих, прекращающих их, в том числе и «Деда». Заметив, что товарищи направились в хлопковые ворота, черносотенцы опередили их и закрыли ворота. Тогда наши направились в низкому месту забора и начали через него пугать. Убедав, что публика утекает, черносотенцы всей оравой бросились за убегающими. Но все уже успели перепрыгнуть через забор, лишь одного «Деда», уже изображенного на забор, не удалось стянуть за ногу. Сильно дернувшись, он вырвался и перебросился через забор с такой силой, что расшибся до потери сознания.

На фоне с устной получила большой размах и печатная агитация. Приходила литература из центра, непрерывно работала и собственная типография. Последняя была очень не сложна: она заключалась в нескольких пудах шрифта, в деревянной доске, куда набирался шрифт, большом ручном вале, которым прокатывались прокламации, и небольшом валике и грифельной доске, на которой растиралась краска для накатывания набранного шрифта **).

Несмотря на свою примитивность, эта типография дала нам возможность выбрасывать ежемесячно десятки тысяч экземпляров прокламаций.

Напряженная работа шла все лето. События 17 октября застали тверскую организацию вполне подготовленной, с хорошо налаженным, сильно разветвленным по всей губернии аппаратом и с безраздельным влиянием.

Первое выступление после 17 октября

*) Одному из поручений ТК, выполнение которого потом [illegible] ...ось возложенное [illegible] ...ей типографии. Новая типография обслуживала [illegible] ...ую работу вплоть до ликвидации [illegible] ...ой типографии.

**) Она была [illegible] ...ванных на 18 верст [illegible] ...Бушнеевым и Валентиной в деревне [illegible] ...ванных в наших домах, где работали с 1 марта [illegible] ...р., до июня [illegible] ...р.

произошло по приказу комитета партии. Все фабрики были остановлены. Рабочие, [illegible] ...с Морозовской фабрики, все вышли на улицу с красными знаменами и двинулись в город прямо на Миллионную по двору, где жил губернатор. Оттуда по Миллионной прошли к больнице, где лежали избитые черносотенцами служащие земской управы. Там был устроен митинг, который отправил в больницу делегацию приветствовать пострадавших.

По окончании митинга рабочие повернули в собору в расчете пройти в тюрьме. Возле самого собора их встретили драгуны; представитель комитета предложил всем рабочим вернуться на фабрику, а не идти в тюрьме, но более горячо настроенная часть запрещалась против этих драгун. К ним обратилась жена Григорьевич с призывом идти на драгун и работать до тюрьмы. В результате последовало избиение рабочих, которые в конце концов разбежались.

Через несколько дней под давлением энергичных требований рабочих собраний заключенные были освобождены.

В первые же дни после 17 октября были образованы во всех предприятиях фабрично-заводские и стачечные комитеты, объединенные общегородским стачечным комитетом. Председателем стачечного комитета и его президиума был избран П. И. Малафеев.

Несколько же позже в конце месяца после получения известий о возникновении Петербургского Совета были произведены выборы в Совет Рабочих Депутатов по типу петербургского на основе определенного положения. Одновременно с этим на фабриках и заводах были выбраны фабрично-заводские советы.

Председателем и исполнительного комитета общегородского совета был избран я.

Совет, и в частности исполнительный комитет состояли главным образом из старых рабочих нашей организации, в совете был [illegible] ...ный элемент.

Исполнительный комитет сильно и в до вооруженного восстания. Все [illegible] ...ности, все вопросы экономического характера. Так, на было осуществлено требование, за которое так долго, но безуспешно боролись рабочие,—выдача жильцам на вольных квартирах вознаградительной квартирной платы в размере, если не ошибаюсь, одинокими—2 р., семейным—5 руб. в месяц. Был осуществлен контроль над [illegible] ...ной и [illegible] ...ной работы. Наконец, были возвращены и поставлены на свою работу все сидевшие в тюрьмах и уволенные администрацией за политическую неблагонадежность рабочие. Подобного рода действия совета высоко подняли его авторитет не только на фабриках, но и в деревне.

Отмечу еще один характерный факт. Так как в июле, как полагается, по работам, рабочим была собрана крупная сумма денег лично для меня. Явились ко мне на квартиру делегаты: от ткачей, помню, был Багаев—старик, от механического цеха кузнец (фамилии не помню), от прядильного отделения И. Гущов.

«В чем дело?» спрашиваю. «К тебе», отвечают делегаты и вручают мне конверт с деньгами, собранными по заводу прямо после получки. «Ты нигде не работаешь, живешь плохо. Вот собрание и постановило, чтобы ты взял то, что собрано».

Стал отказываться. Делегаты: «знаем, знаем, что ты не хочешь изменить роли рабочих. Я принял. Принялось вместе вопрос на общем собрании, которое состоялось через два. Обсуждали его часа 3 или более. Наконец согласились отдать комитету партии. Тут вмешались в дело эсеры и стали выставлять на передние позиции деньги, т. е. деньги собирались и среди беспартийных. Собрание все же постановило оставить Себе, пусть пригодятся, кому он хочет. Деньги были мною сданы тов. Ольгину, они пошли комитета партии.

Накануне московского восстания [illegible] ...радской площади поставить пушки, [illegible] ...губернаторского дворца стали [illegible] ...другим. Взять исполнительного комитета из города стала постепенно отходить [illegible] ...ся в рабочие районы. В это время [illegible] ...сообщено из Питера, что отряд для [illegible] ...давления московского восстания едет [illegible] ...неновцы, которых необходимо задержать. Исполнительный комитет постановил [illegible] ...рать железнодорожный мост на Волге [illegible] ...рядом полных мостов, разобрать [illegible] ...десятью верст, чтобы не пропустить [illegible] ...новских в Москву. Но все попытки [illegible] ...быть предпринятые вследствие [illegible] ...ствующих [illegible] ...ствий. Из всего намеченного плана [illegible] ...лось выполнить лишь ряд отдельных [illegible] ...проявлений, в том числе и разрушение [illegible] ...ага от железнодорожного моста через Т[illegible] ...ку на Бутырской станции, на расстоянии [illegible] ...в верст. Тут было уничтожено всех [illegible] ...ков, и телеграфные столбы. Это, [illegible] ...ственно не задержало, прорезанные [illegible] ...были быстро исправлены и войска добрались до Москвы.

О подавлении московского восстания [illegible] ...началось безжалостная расправа [illegible] ...ками. Пушки с городской площади от[illegible] ...перекатывались по [illegible] ...ровской и Каменской фабрикам, где [illegible] ...ходилась [illegible] ...ская резиденция исполнительного комитета. Настроение рабо[illegible] ...было приподнятое. Они требовали [illegible] ...исполнительного комитета отчаянного [illegible] ...сопротивления. Все фабрики были ос[illegible] ...вооружены. Работал только механический [illegible] ...завод, где ковались пики, кинжалы, [illegible] ...керы, исправлялись все-какие винтовки. Всего этого, конечно, было совершенно [illegible] ...достаточно для борьбы против хорошо [illegible] ...вооруженной армии.

Исполнительный комитет сидел [illegible] ...суток. Сначала, отчасти под видом [illegible] ...ранней площади поставить пушки, [illegible] ...губернаторского дворца стали [illegible] ...другим. Взять исполнительного комитета из города стала постепенно отходить [illegible] ...ся в рабочие районы. В это время [illegible] ...сообщено из Питера, что отряд для [illegible] ...давления московского восстания едет [illegible] ...неновцы, которых необходимо задержать. Исполнительный комитет постановил [illegible] ...рать железнодорожный мост на Волге [illegible] ...рядом полных мостов, разобрать [illegible] ...десятью верст, чтобы не пропустить [illegible] ...новских в Москву. Но все попытки [illegible] ...быть предпринятые вследствие [illegible] ...ствующих [illegible] ...ствий. Из всего намеченного плана [illegible] ...лось выполнить лишь ряд отдельных [illegible] ...проявлений, в том числе и разрушение [illegible] ...ага от железнодорожного моста через Т[illegible] ...ку на Бутырской станции, на расстоянии [illegible] ...в верст. Тут было уничтожено всех [illegible] ...ков, и телеграфные столбы. Это, [illegible] ...ственно не задержало, прорезанные [illegible] ...были быстро исправлены и войска добрались до Москвы.

ation at the end of the film; at the beginning, Pudovkin's film shares with the novel a general sense of the location being abstracted to any place, the protagonists to unnamed characters, any of a number of anonymous industrial suburbs and their inhabitants to which such incidents occured. Of Razumny's adaptation, Mariamov complains:

> The film was no more than a period piece, accounting for a single past episode in social history. The sense of Pavel as a type representative of his class and his time was thereby lost, but also the film lost the connection between Pavel and his comrades with the generation of the October Revolution, binding the theme with the general public seated in the auditorium. The film did not treat its subject matter correctly...a return to the broader ideological and artistic foundation of Gorki's work was called for. 37

Tolstoi's The Living Corpse, similarly the subject of a number of film adaptations, was variously interpreted. Otsep's version deviates from the original in that obstruction to a divorce between a loveless couple is seen to emanate from the Orthodox Church rather than (as Tolstoi would have it) from a rigid state bureaucracy.(see chapter two, above)

Pudovkin also acknowledges Tolstoi (his favourite author) as the source for the trial scene in Mother: in Resurrection the judge is distracted by thoughts of his mistress, in Mother a conversation about "a fine-looking filly" is revealed to concern a horse, which the judge then draws on his blotter as the trial proceeds. The Death of Ivan Ilyich volunteers itself as a secondary source for the cynicism of the legal functionaries towards the practice of the law.[38] In his 1928 article, 'Kak ia rabotaiu s Tolstym', Pudovkin indicates that he found in Tolstoi a species of pertinent detail which Eisenstein prefers to identify in Joyce:

> He works with enormous persistence upon every detail. He denies himself any simple rule of elegant compositional style and doesn't shy away from using one and the same word repeatedly in a single passage in order to confer upon it the greatest persuasive power. Tolstoi leaves the reader no room to see something other than as he shows it. Everything that he writes accords perfectly with a real object...The form of his language is so fundamental to the idea that any relativity is ultimately lost. 39

Mother deviates from Gorki's novel significantly in the rôle of the father. In the latter, he is merely refered to in passing:

> Living a life like that for some 50 years, a workman died. Thus also lived Michael Vlasov. 40

In the film, the rôle is expanded to serve a number of purposes, both dramatic and ideological, and material which in the novel which might be deemed to compromise or confuse the clarity of the theme is deliberately discarded. For instance, in the novel the son behaves badly towards the mother immediately after the death of Vlasov senior (indeed, "he knew no better") whereas in the film the older generation is consistently identified with reprehensible behaviour, or with ideas which are shown to be held falsely in contrast with the younger generation's enlightenment (Gorki's 'Children of the Sun'). It is significant that the story tells of the political awakening of a woman of peasant stock: such as she were regarded by the state as generally conservative and resistant to change.[41] The babushki wailing at the side of the corpse warn the mother against her son, it is he, they say, who has brought this trouble upon her. The character of Vlasov is used to endorse the official campaign against alcoholism (prominently voiced by Trotski) and to promote the idea of a new Soviet Citizenry who would reject alcoholic excess: "Drunkeness is a violation of our class, proletar-

ian communist morality. Vodka poisons and destroys the organism, it bears us out of the world of reality into a world of illusion, it deprives us of judgement".[42] In order to buy vodka the father attempts to take the flat iron which serves as a weight to the clock, then to take the clock itself. This is the only adornment of the bare interior and the Mother intervenes to prevent him. Vlasov's vast shadow overwhelms the cringing mother and the father succeeds by brute force to take the iron. Vlasov then presents it at the tavern, drawing it out from a torn and dishevelled pocket. His fecklessness is contrasted with the mother's thrift and fortitude: meanwhile, she sets to, endeavouring to piece together the broken clock, evidently much repaired previously. Alcohol is the root of further evil: unaware that he is an object of public mockery (an accordion player in the tavern winks connivingly at the film's audience) the refusal of the bar tender of the iron is seized upon by the members of the Black Hundred conspiring in the corner as an opportunity to manipulate him to their ends (Vlasov's addiction renders him, a working man, susceptible to bribes to betray his class). Here again, the naming of the group contributes particular resonance. In the 1905 revolution the Black Hundred were agents provocateurs, acting against Jewish groups and strikers.[43] Thus Zarkhi crucially brings together father and son on either side of the factory owners and the workers. The manager flicks cigar-ash from a gloved hand (he will not sully his hands himself); a paid lackey from the tavern draws out a knuckle-dustered clenched fist. Vlasov is shot in the ensuing fight, but the cronies who were so keen to enlist him into their gang on the previous night now slink away and desert him.

The mother is converted to the cause of the young, she turns from the established order and towards the promise of the new. At first unquestioningly she responds to the police officer's word that Pavel will be treated better if he surrenders his arms; she bows and fawns to his authority and pleads with Pavel to act to save himself. The simple obedience of a peasant woman ("it's good to be simple", Gorki has her say) is a sign of political naïveté. In the novel, her folk roots are repeatedly signalled in the language in which her point of view is described: the mother is central to the novel in her becoming an heroic protagonist but also in that the descriptive voice is most frequently her own, the text is suffused with Orthodox and folkloric images. The lawyers at the trial are "four large blackbirds", uttering "hailstorms of unintelligible long words".[44] One is reminded of the old woman in The Twelve, wondering how many pairs of felt boots could be made from a red flannel flag.[45] Pudovkin takes the Gorki original as his "object of imitation" and also adopts its "manner and style". However, political enlightenment is effected in the film not by the series of long conversations with Pavel's comrades by which she is persuaded in the novel (and in the Razumny version), but by growing disaffection with the old régime. Surrounding characters are employed to demonstrate her emotional state in their reaction or appearance to her. For instance, in the arrest, although she defers to the officer's authority, it is her growing distrust of him which is shown in the camera's look askance and in the obscuring of his eyes with the wire frame of his spectacles (whereas the comrades look directly to camera, eyes clear and bright, looking forwards

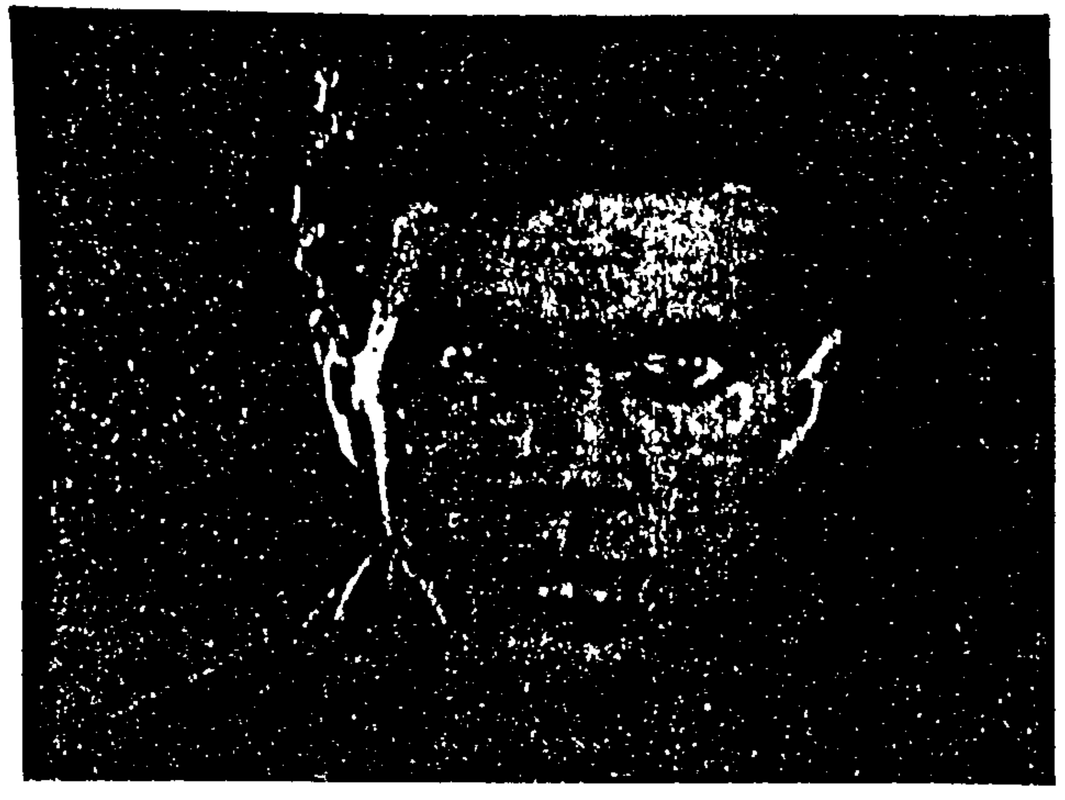
like the comrades in The End of St.Petersburg).(ills.7.i,ii) While the mother approaches her son's trial with trepidation (anxiously arriving long before anyone else), fearful of what darkness in his soul may be uncovered by the probing of the court, she then comes to realise that the pomp and gravity of the judges is no more than superficial and sham, their participation no more than routine (one functionary is intoxicated, it is observed): grandiose histrionic oratory leaves the guards unmoved (it is tediously usual and familiar) and a dowager onlooker, viewing the scene through a lorgnette, applauds the fine-ness of the show. It is the mother's sense of injustice which is conveyed at Pavel's trial, at the failure of the established order to command authority any longer (the trial, clearly figured by the double-headed eagle as a Tsarist performance, is reduced to an entertainment staged for a bourgeois audience): "Here was nothing to frighten her by its power or majesty".[46]

Pudovkin and Zarkhi consistently argue for the primacy of theme (the 'supra artistic concept') conveyed in a written scenario as the 'hard skeleton' governing the clear organisation of a film, but reiterate the difficulties involved in transfering a literary work to the screen:

> The theme is almost always the most that one can take from a literary work in changing it into a screenplay. The development and treatment of the plot of a literary work (especially in the hands of a great master) are the result of purely literary methods. Their translation to the screen is quite impossible. 47

The scenario must be written in visual and active terms. Pudovkin disparages the literary scenario and the use of long explanatory intertitles. Pudovkin and Zarkhi were far from alone in addressing the problems of effecting such a

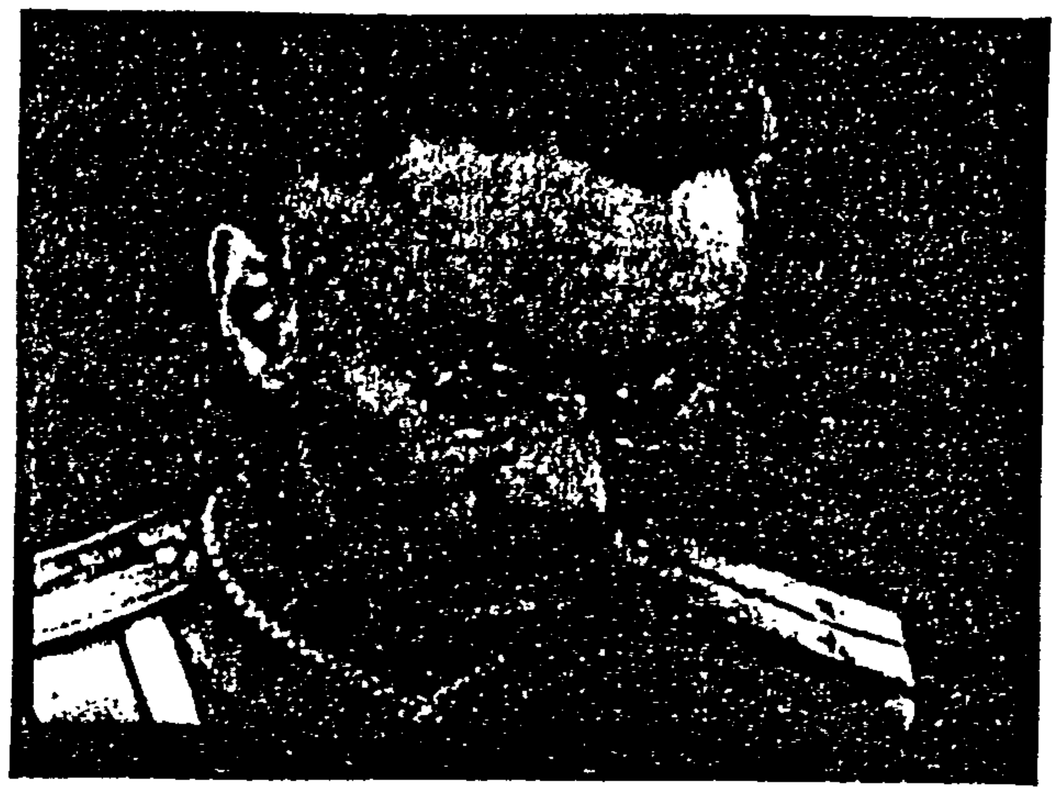
7.ii.a.



7.ii.b.

7.ii.c.


7.ii.d.

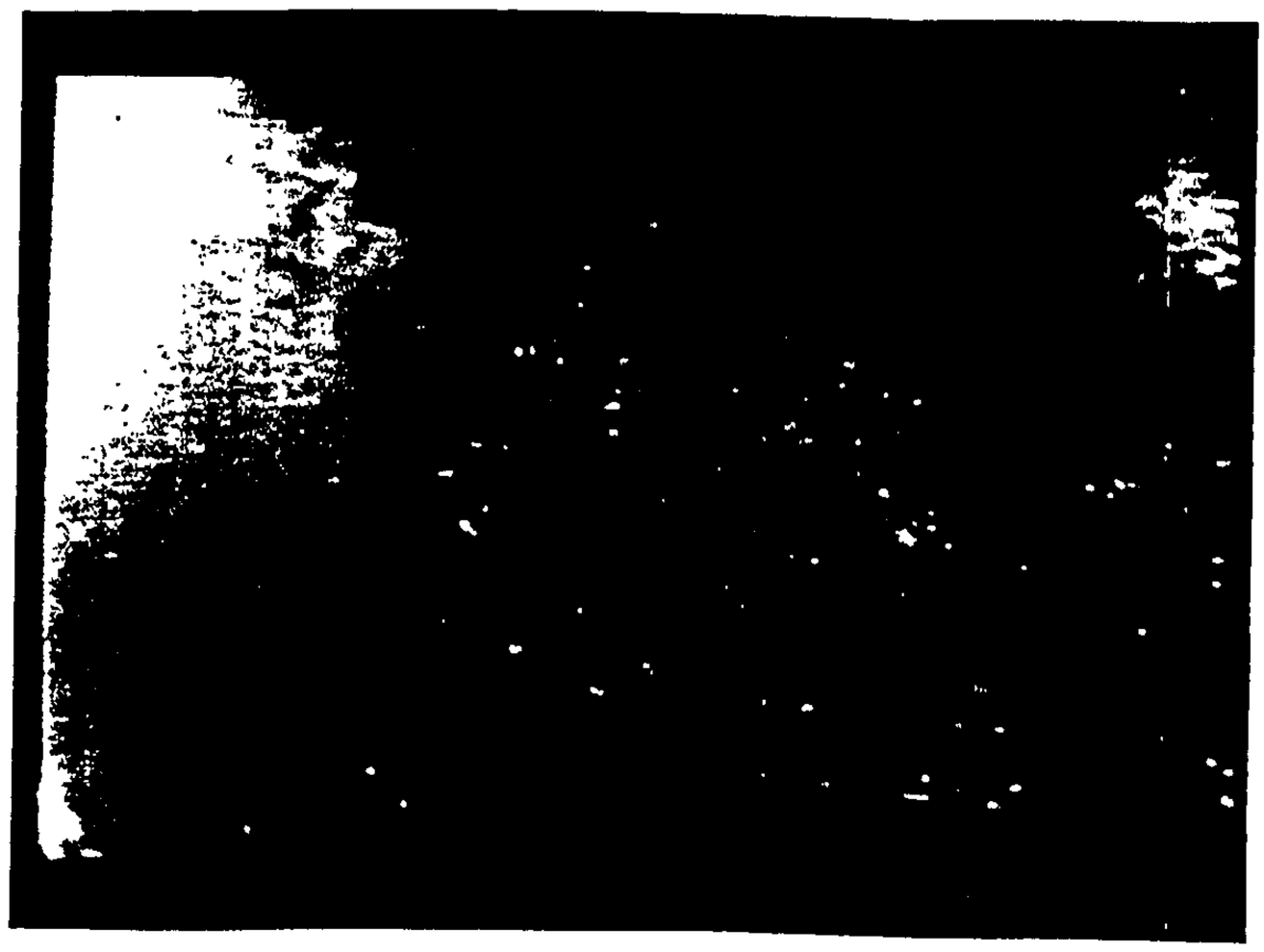


7.ii.e.

7.ii.f.

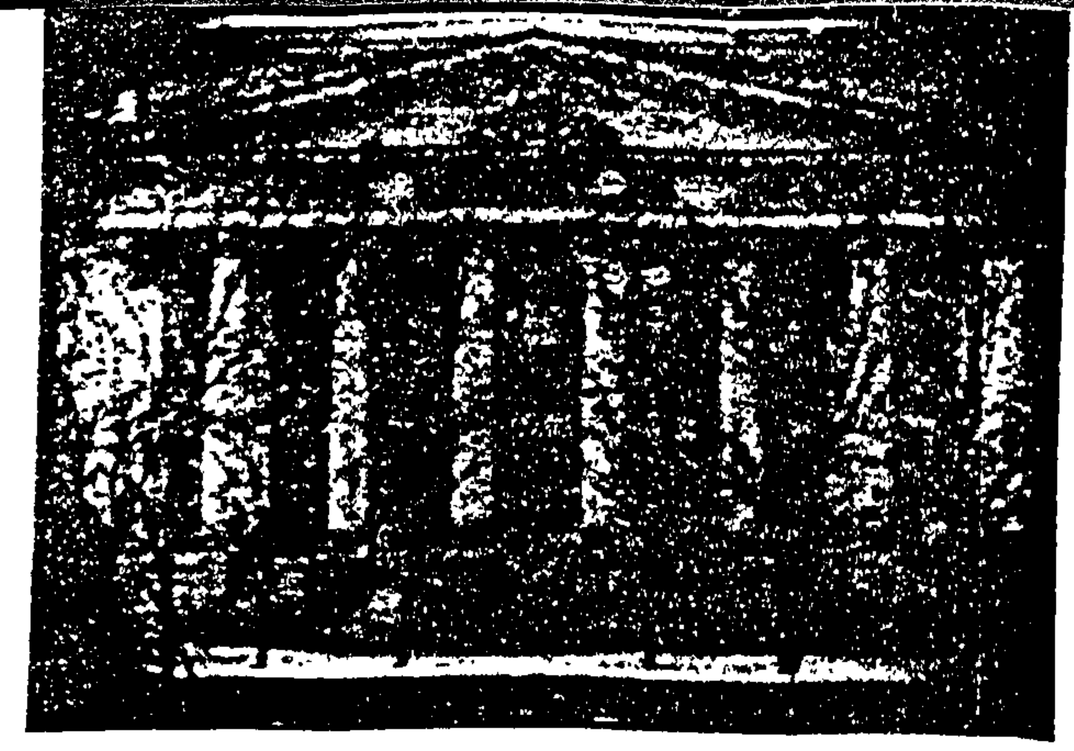
7.iii.

transition, M.Smelianov's 'Literatura Kino' (ARK zhurnal 1) and V.Dekabr'skii's 'Literatura i Kinematograf' (Art-Ekran 5) voice similar concerns.[48] Numerous scenarios are rejected, says Pudovkin, because they are written in terms which are not susceptible to plastic expression: "often" is not a cinematic term, he says, discussing the example of the life of the family Nikonov.[49] Indeed, the several year span of Gorki's novel is contracted in the film to a number of significant events.(ill.7.iv) In the book, the characters who take care of the mother while Pavel is in prison are individually identified by name and origin; the comrades serve to demonstrate the solidarity of proletariat (Pavel), peasantry (Andrei) and intelligentsia (Riabin and Sonia) during the revolution against capitalist exploitation. This solidarity is hard won: there is much discussion of the relative merits of revolutionary methods and programme. The comrades' interim disputations are unsuitable for direct translation to film and there is less differentiation between them. When they point to one another in turn as 'Pavel Vlasov', it is, I would suggest, not merely a mocking gesture, a manoeuvre to impede the course of the arrest: any one of these comrades could become the character Pavel and take his part in what is to come. Selflessly, Pavel foregoes the fond longings of the woman revolutionary who delivers the guns, for the sake of a higher cause. In the book, the characters who take care of the mother are enumerated; in the film it is sufficient to render that she is comforted: the action is abstracted to its typical expression in the stroking of hands, in feet taking someone to the hob to prepare a meal for her.(ill.7.v) The gesture is repeated sufficiently for it to be understood that this was done over a period of time.



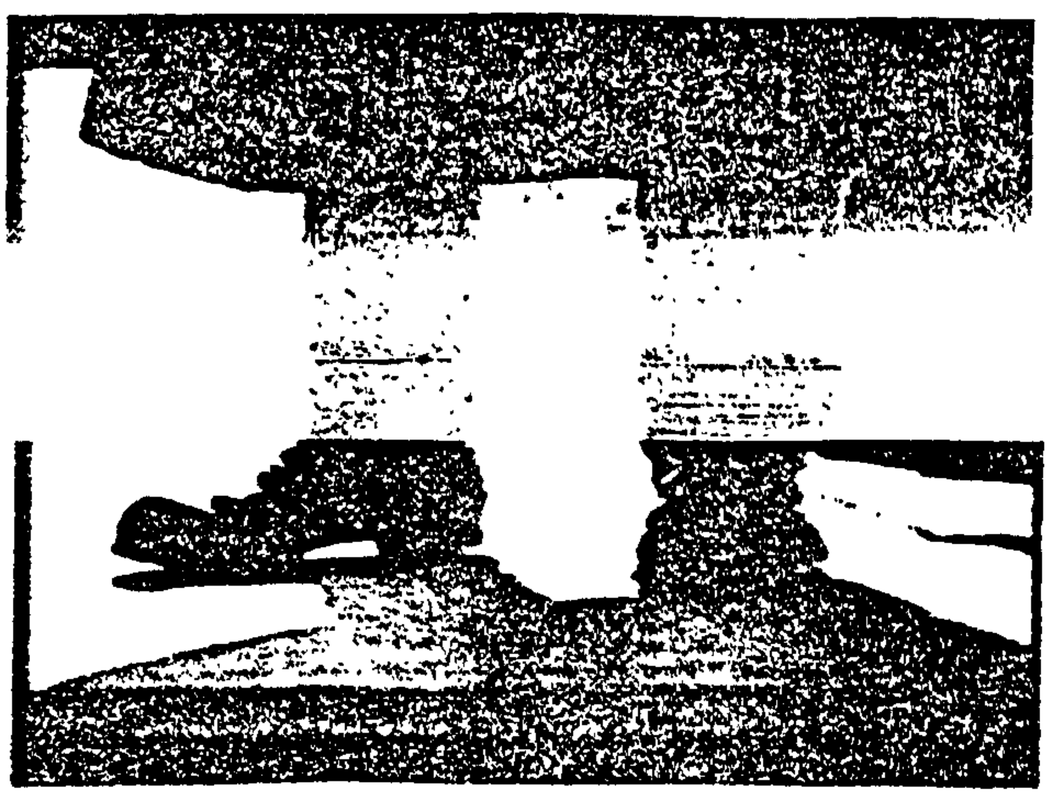
The film uses individual figures to point a general understanding of theme. Intertitles and single shots are used not only as formal "keystones" (in Pudovkin's terminology), conceived "in plastic (externally expressive) images" which structure the shape of the work but also as keys whereby the meaning of the theme is to be extrapolated. THE MOTHER is introduced to the viewer in her defining territory, "penned-in" in her "narrow cage", between the washing line and the hob. To THE FATHER is attributed his characteristic realm: the tavern.[50] The juxtaposition of words with images becomes a means of rendering emphatically apparent a connotation lost or submerged in common usage. The intertitle PILLARS OF THE ESTABLISHMENT is framed by a shot of the colonnaded portico of the Palace of Justice and a low close-up shot of the sturdy, booted, akimbo legs of a soldier guarding the palace.(ill.7.vi) Montage does not merely materially connect shots but effects "a differential exchange" of content;[51]the intertitle WORD WENT ROUND is coupled with a frontal shot of a metal grille denoting the cellular structure of the revolution: the shot is simultaneously feasible within the spatial continuity of the sequence locating the film action in the factory and opportunistically effecting as an arrested, emphatic affirmation of the theme. The intervention of the intertitle,as a visual phenomenon, the punch of white on black, is employed to stimulate the viewer's imagination into activity. It initiates the operation of the viewer's imagination, where the very requirement of participatory imagination is construed as a method of registering and fixing in the audience an intended meaning. Pudovkin presupposes a mapping of the viewer's experience onto his directorial intention, affirming a shared social

7.vi.a.



7.vi.b.


7.vi.c.



7.vi.d.

7.vi.e.

purpose: "The director and scenarist lead despotically along with them the attention of the spectator...the smallest error in clearness of vividness of construction will be apprehended as an unpleasant confusion or as...a blank".[52]

In the novel, the mother for a long while remains unnamed and unidentified, until the Ukrainian asks her to introduce herself; Pudovkin transfers this passivity to a performance which conspicuously lacks voice: Baranovskaia plays the role with her mouth clenched shut, as though dulled into submission. She is not so much silent as forcibly muted. The slowly dripping tap by the body of her husband marks time and the heavy thud of tears, although her face, unlike those of the wailing babushki, registers Vlasov's death as a blank. Her increased animation, expressiveness and radiance accompanies her growing participation in the new cause and draws from the novel her heightened and accelerated sense of the passage of time: the "...bygone days in which her past dragged along, a thin, black thread" as against "the days glided by one after the other, like the beads of a rosary" and "the pendulum which always beat with an energy that seemed to say: 'I must get to the goal; I must get to the goal'."[53] At the trial, Gorki says, it seems to the mother that the judges are slavering after Pavel's blood, preying upon the health and vitality of his body; in the film the commanding officer, old and gaunt, is shown with his hound at his feet and the cavalry horses sweat and chew at their bits in anticipation of the imminent charge.[54] The mother's optimism for a new age, "The life is for our children; the earth is for them", is introduced in her encounter with a young mother suckling her own child, a baby

boy as was once her own.[55] The mother's growing love for Pavel's friends, beginning with her adoption of Andrei ("unthinkingly she called him Andriusha") shows the expansion of an individual, selfish love ("we love that which we need") to a generous fellow-feeling for an entire generation, for the Children of the Sun who will lead the world to a better future. Her political awakening is staged as a religious conversion, to which she herself gives testimony:

> Why, this is like a new god that's born to us, the people. Everything for all; all for everything; the whole of life in one, and the whole of life for everyone and everyone for the whole of life! This I understand all of you; it is for this that you are on this earth, I see. You are in truth comrades all, kinsmen all, for you are all children of one mother, of truth.[56]

For Pudovkin's mother, taking hold of the red banner at the head of the demonstration is staged with as grand a gesture as the signing of the cross in mourning.

In spite of all these translations from novel to screen, Gorki himself is said to have disapproved of the Pudovkin version, accusing it of political tendentiousness at the expense of maternal motivation and was mollified only when Zarkhi and Pudovkin appealed to him in person.[57] Subsequently, examining the film in the light of the new régime's pronouncements towards the political recognition of women, Judith Mayne has judged Mother wanting and regressive in the centrality of the son to her awareness and social enfranchisement: "Ultimately, then, Mother is not the mother's film; it is Pavel's".[58] The martyrdom of the son is not only Christ-like but also reminiscent (as is Bair, in Storm over Asia) of the self denial of saintly princes in Russian folklore.[59](see chapter four, above) It is as though, in seeking to legitimise and endorse the revolution by finding for it a

social equivalent of its Christian pre-cursor, to build a new God, the old mythology cannot withstand demolition. Gorki's mother herself faces this dilemma; what will she have left if her God is taken from her?[60]

The significant keystones of the scenario, the clear articulation of character to serve the theme, refers Pudovkin's Mother to the celebratory spectacles orchestrated by the Commissariat of the Enlightenment in imitation of popular ritualistic forms, even though the conventions are here effectively humanised by Baranovskaia's performance and such details as the prison porridge and the boy having his ear clipped by his bourgeois father as he cheers on the joyful demonstrators. Contemporary commentators were wont to herald film as the vehicle of a new urban folklore, peculiarly adept at addressing a new and migrant proletariat dispossessed of its rural traditions.[61] Both novel and film owe much to a received form in folklore, a conventionalised, national form which Propp identifies in its Soviet succession: "Epic poetry shows whom people consider a hero and for what deeds...the content of epic poetry is struggle and victory...waged not for narrow, petty goals, not for personal interests, not for the well-being of the individual hero but for the people's highest ideals".[62] In the novel, the mother's politicisation and gradual involvement in the struggle is registered partly in the move from a passive to an active role in the events described. She forms her opinions as a witness to the conversations of Pavel and his comrades, she struggles with her own confusions which are then resolved in crucial events: the arrest; the trial; Pavel's death. It is less important that the viewer derives a sense

of the real time elapsed over events represented than that a sensation of a continuous sequence of episodes be appreciated in the theme's coming to fruition. It is characteristic of pictures that they live only in the present and that the spiritual dynamic of the film is sensed as a present continuous. Piotrovski analyses the construction of Mother in comparison to the Griffith schema of catastrophe-chase-rescue, preceded by the briefest introduction of characters and limited delineation of preparatory circumstances. The crucial events of the film, "representing treachery, judgement, flight", are each "constructed according to the schema 'preparedness for catastrophe-catastrophe'."[63] Furthermore, Piotrovski observes: "The emotional tension of the whole is enormous and it, as distinct from the melodrama of Griffith, is spread in equal measure". As an analysis of the narrative content alone of the scenario this conclusion may be satisfactory, but for Pudovkin the scenario plans for a film as a physical event. It seems to me that the end of Mother produces a markedly heightened tension which is physically effected and effecting: shots of the marching demonstrators' shadows cast over the flakes of ice flowing downstream; shots of demonstrators marching regularly horizontally across frame (eventually abstracted to a flickering staccato punctuation of light and shade), shots of the flag being passed in action to the head of the march (the flag ascending from bottom to top of the frame, culminating in its appearance atop the Kremlin) create an urgent, forceful rhythm which is appreciably retarded, tautly wound-back and strained by parallel interjected shots of the prisoners slowly walking counter clockwise in the prison yard. The explosive sense of physical

release which is experienced at the end of the film serves to sublimate the moment of the mother's death. Piotrovski is of the opinion that the theatrical basis of "a tragic dénouement" is "seriously obstructed in cinema" because in film the person of the performer is wholly identified with the mask of the character. Piotrovski volunteers this incapacity as an explanation for the prevalence of "happy endings".[64] Mother is seemingly epic cinema; it accomplishes a specifically cinematic catharsis.

A theory of transmutability (aesthetics and propriety of respective media)

G.E.Lessing published his Laocoön in 1766. His comparative study concerned itself with the antique sculpture of Laocoön (now in the Capitolone, Rome) and the treatment of the same subject in a poem by Homer. However, Lessing's theoretical considerations extended to the plastic arts and to the progressive arts in general. He is anxious that their respective domains be defined and regards infringement as an aberration: "the true end of a fine art can only be that which it is capable of arriving at without the help of any other".[65] Lessing is concerned less with the proper handling of materials in a craft sense than with the means of achieving an effect. His work has been invoked by successive authors, some answering Lessing himself, some adopting any of the manifold areas of discussion as a point of departure. Of these, Duchenne (1858), Eisenstein (1937), Arnheim (1938) and della Volpe (1960) seem here particularly pertinent.

Lessing's interest was archaeological, in as much as he endeavoured to detect which work took historic preced-

ence. However, in attempting to date the work he adopted a progressivist view (for instance, in the achievement of increasingly naturalistic perspective). Furthermore, he sought to associate work which he deemed aesthetically exemplary with an historic golden age, asserting simultaneously the capacity of superlative art to edify mankind and that superlative art is the product of a just and moral society. Eisenstein echoes Lessing's formula, applying it to an intellectual appreciation of aesthetic principles:

> ...since all forms of cinema are determined by the nature of the society which creates them, it is in the highest form of social organisation- ours- that we are moving towards the fullest understanding of the aesthetics of this art form, that is to say towards a level of comprehension where all its many and varied achievements contribute to an ever clearer image of the principles which underlie it.
> 66

Duchenne set himself a more limited objective. He turns to the expression on the face of the central figure in the Laocoön and makes an anatomical inspection. From his knowledge of muscular activity he concludes that antagonistic muscles are shown to be operating simultaneously and that the expression contravenes natural possibility.[67] Lessing too had ordinarily observed that the expression was not a naturalistic imitation, and that one could not surmise from the face the horrific pain narrated in the comparative poem. Lessing suggests that this idealisation of the face, this compromise of expression, is subject to the paramount governing principle that beauty is the end of art:

> There are passions and degrees of passion which express themselves in the countenance by the most hideous distortions and which place the whole body in such attitudes of violence that all the fine lines which mark it in a position of repose are lost...ancient artists either abstained from these altogether and entirely or used them in a subordinate degree in which they were susceptible of some

> measure of beauty. Rage and despair do not disgrace any of their works. 68

Whereas Duchenne seems disposed to reproach the sculptor for his want of fidelity to nature, for Lessing the antique is seemingly beyond reproach and deviations from nature accordingly provoke appropriate explanation. Turning to the effect of the Laocoön on its viewer, Lessing offers the following justification:

> Bodily pain does not present a sufficiently distinct idea to our imagination to produce by the mere aspect of it at all a corresponding feeling in us. 69

Lessing similarly cites the example of Zeuxis' painting of Helen, drawn from a number of sources in order to approach a closer rendition of her beauty: ultimately, he says, it is the object of the artist to arouse in the viewer the contemplation of an ideal: "Art does no more than put our imagination in motion".[70]

For Lessing, then, artistic license from nature is sanctioned by the requirement of the artist to imitate and intimate the ideal with the means (formal and material) at his immediate disposal. The question remains as to whether the sculpture or the poem is an imitation from another form. Of critical importance for Lessing is less that a translation has been made than that the effect is conveyed on each occasion by means appropriate to that art individually.

> When it is said that the artist imitates the poet, or the poet imitates the artist, this mode of speech means either that the one makes the work of the other the real object of his imitation or that they have both the same object of imitation and the one borrows from the other the manner and style of imitation. 71

Lessing rails against a "mania for description in poetry and for allegory in painting".[72] The arts succeed best individ-

ually when they employ their charateristic instruments. Lessing's principal complaint against hybrid forms, against the arts in combination, is that effect is compromised by a resort of one art to means extraneous to itself, that their autonomy is thereby invaded. The best effects are achieved, he says, where there is concordance, for instance in the union of poetry and music, being both successive and "not only addressed to one sense, but produced at the same time by the same organ".[73] But Lessing laments that in general one art has become auxiliary, merely an accessory to the other.

Rudolph Arnheim inherits from Lessing the notion of propriety of means and is similarly concerned with the manifestation and the reception of the art work. He acknowledges that art aspires towards purity, "..a medium of expression that is capable of producing complete works by its own resources will for ever keep up its resistance against any combination with another medium" and that the only artistic justification for a composite is that "it must serve to express something that could not be said by one of the media alone".[74] In both instances, Arnheim applies the criterion of irreplaceability. He is equally concerned for compatibility; Arnheim is prompted by the advent of the talking film into a "theoretical study of the aesthetic laws whose violation made it so unsatisfactory", "in their attempts to attract the audience", he says, "the two media are fighting each other instead of capturing it by united effort".[75] Arnheim favours unitary wholes over duplication.(see chapter eight, below) He says that the ancient arts were obliged to discover their characteristic substitutes for the means

denied them. He suggests that the audience is most receptive to art which is perceived as completed form and that composites are effective where deficiencies of means in one area are complemented by an accompaniment: for instance, the ability of music to transmit abstract feelings and moods "perfectly completing" the imagery of dance and the silent film.[76]

Galvano della Volpe subscribes to the idea that there exists something which is essentially filmic and, like Arnheim, defines this in terms of what it is not: "It is a fallacy to include cinema among the visual arts and to classify it as a sub-species of painting".[77] Della Volpe differentiates the percived image yet further: "The two dimensionality of the film itself is a purely physical characteristic, it is quite external to the cinematic work and extraneous to the sign and value of film. The two dimensionality of the canvas, on the other hand, is totally intrinsic to the sign and value of painting". He also, along with Arnheim, seems to regard silent film as closer to this filmic essence. Rather than welcoming film's ability to accommodate other arts as technology allows, film, for della Volpe, qualifies as art the more readily it purges itself. Ironically, there is a suspicion that della Volpe risks embedding film in the "fog of legend and the dogma of tradition" which its early apologists had hoped to escape. "Even Visconti's Senso", he says, "remarkable though it is as spectacle, represents a contamination of cinema and painting with colour and literature- an ensemble of hybrid effects".[78] He repeats Lessing's contention, that within the arts individually translations are required to find appropriate form

in their own medium to be aesthetically valuable: "...what counts aesthetically in the cinema... is what we might call 'renovatio' of verbal and literary idea-images, the most everyday and familiar that we possess, or their renewal into into filmic, pictorial or sculptural idea-images".[79] Pudovkin, della Volpe's "aesthetic paradigm", employs such means as double exposures, of dancing and mandolin playing in The Living Corpse and in Mother, where they convey Vlasov seeing double, the worse for drink; Barnet re-winds the film in order to back-track in the narration of The House on Trubnia.

Eisenstein's Laocoön returns to Lessing's premise that the plastic and the progressive arts occupy fundamentally distinct territories and that art best conducts itself introspectively within the confines of its domain. Eisenstein proclaims film's capacity to transcend this distinction and, having once asserted montage to be the defining principle of film, in 1938 he adopts montage as the basis of a theory which incorporates the production and reception of the sound film.(see chapter nine, below) Having once found precedents in literature, in 1938 he turned to the discussion of harmonic structure in music. Film is cast as the glorious culmination of a cultural tendency; amongst Eisenstein's contemporaries, Timoshenko too, in his 1926 Iskusstvo kino i montazh fil'ma (introduced by Piotrovski) had noted that the physical bases of cinema were known already by Ptolemy.[80] Finding origins for cinema "in the darkness of time", for Eisenstein corroborates its future:

> Thus we can see that the principle of cinema is not something which dropped upon mankind from the heavens, but it is something that has grown out of the very depths of human culture. [81]

Media and combinations (cinema as a mixed art)

In 1920's film theory, film assumed the mantle in which romantics of the previous century had presented the gothic cathedral. It drew together the talents of individual artists in different fields, combining to produce an impression in a mass audience in which a panoply of responses were evoked simultaneously. Such also were the ritualistic mass spectacles of the early years of the revolution:

> The Taking of the Winter Palace was a haunting reconstruction of real life events in the actual historical locations; a sort of mystery play performed in the Palace Square and on the steps of the Bourse, with the participation of real warships, marine detachments and with classical choirs...and masks representing capitalists and proletarians. 82

Far from aiming at that "beauty in concordance" extolled by Lessing, this manifestation deliberately juxtaposed diverse phenomena. Far from taking nature as its model, it strove towards a sublimation of everyday experience. Silent film achieved this effect either externally, by the performed accompaniment of music, or by exploiting the silence, introducing images which forcibly evoked a particular sound impression: as Arnheim says, it found its characteristic strength in an apparent, unnatural deficiency. Sound could find a direct substitute in a descriptive image or a response in the viewer could be elicited through the shot and sequence.

Unlike Eisenstein, Pudovkin has little to say about the music which accompanied his own silent films. The subject of appropriate scoring was frequently and variously discussed in the journals: Khr.Khersonskii's 'Muzyka v Kino' in ARK zhurnal 3 is highly technical, Sergei Budoslavskii in ARK zhurnal 9 is concerned with the notion of melody;

articles in Kino address the appropriate characterisation and suitable proportioning of music to film and a 1923 issue draws together the views of a number of professional commentators including D.S.Blok and the conductor of the Goskino orchestra, M.Z.Basov. Blok's contribution to ARK zhurnal [83] 'Muzykal'naia illiustratsiia v kino', discusses the relative merits of written and improvised scores. Blok, who became musical director at Goskino, composed a score in 1935 for Mother and Shaporin's work on Pudovkin's first sound film, Deserter, is mentioned in Akter v Fil'me (1934). Sadly, in all of this, there is little precise information as to what exactly was played, nor does Pudovkin seem to have been sufficiently fussy or pedantic to specify a particular score for his own films . Marie Seton wrote to Ivor Montagu before the incomplete London screening of A Simple Case:

> I think Pudovkin has told you that he has no very definite ideas about it. The enclosed suggestions are his, they may give you some ideas: middle of the second part from the first explosion in the civil war episode to the moment when the young soldier is dead, there must be no music; Pudovkin has not thought of any special music and he leaves the choice to [you]; first part (prologue)- Bach, beginning of fourth part again Bach; second part beginning and end must have an epic quality; third part- Beethoven. [84]

Golovnia is hardly forthcoming either:

> ...we always felt that films like Mother and more particularly End of St.Petersburg were perfectly understood by audiences, especially when they had a good musical accompaniment...at that time special scores were written for important films and in the best cinemas they were always shown with their proper musical accompaniment...for End of St.Petersburg several musical phrases evoked immediate and very precise associations- in the scene of the patriotic demonstration the music played was a slightly distorted version of the national anthem- the two perceptions, visual and aural, were linked and mutually reinforcing. [85]

Golovnia suggests that the success of Pudovkin's films with

audiences was due in part to the effective 'cuing' or 'signing' of the intended reaction by the music. Sovkino advocated that producers and composers work alongside one another "while making the film and in particular for them to agree finally on the musical scenario when the picture is being put together".[86] Shostakovich, an erstwhile cinema pianist himself, advocated that a composer should take no more than the theme from a film as an impulse to his own autonomous work. Kozintsev agreed: "We had the same idea- not to illustrate shots but to give them new quality and scope; the music had to be composed against external events so as to show the inner sense of the action".[87] As Kozintsev had turned to Zola as an historic source for his images of Second Republic Paris in New Babylon, Shostakovich turned to Offenbach's operettas and wrote a new orchestration of an old french song and of the Marseillaise. However, the orchestra and the audience proved resistant to their innovation. But Shostakovich's notion of producing a score as a counterpoint to the film was to become standard practice with sound films. "Music must retain its own line", says Pudovkin, discussing the score for Deserter.

Eisenstein's 1928 Statement on Sound (to which Pudovkin and Alexandrov were signatories) was not opposed to the introduction to film of sound per se; rather it resisted the naturalistic constraints on the medium which the synchronisation of image with dialogue portended, "the line of least resistance". Characteristically, Eisenstein argued the case by asserting that it was montage, the quintessence of cinema, that synchronisation placed under threat and that it was only in its potential for developing and advancing

montage technique that sound was to be welcomed:

> In the first place there will be commercial exploitation of the most saleable goods, i.e. of talking pictures- those in which the sound is recorded in a natural manner, synchronising exactly with the movement on the screen and creating a certain 'illusion' of people talking, objects making a noise, etc.
> The first period of sensations will not harm the development of the new art; the danger comes with the second period, accompanied by the loss of innocence and purity of the initial concept of cinema's new textural possibilities can only intensify its unimaginative use for 'dramas of high culture' and other photographed presentations of a theatrical order.
> Sound used in this way will destroy the culture of montage because every mere addition of sound to montage fragments increases their inertia as such and their independent significance; this is undoubtedly detrimental to montage which operates above all not with fragments but through the juxtaposition of fragments.
> Only the contrapuntal use of sound vis-à-vis the visual fragment of montage will open up new possibilities for the development and perfection of montage. 88

Equally, Pudovkin had argued in Film Technique that film acting applied its own peculiar selectivity towards 'indifferent nature', employing its own independent means, and that it was spurious to construe the absence of dialogue as a regrettable ommission. "The idea that the film actor should express in gesture that which the ordinary man says in words is basically false. In creating the picture the director and actor use only those moments when the word is superfluous, when the substance of the action develops in silence, when the word may accompany the gesture, but does not give birth to it".[89] For Pudovkin, acting for silent cinema is not a matter of restoring to a performance that of which it has of necessity been deprived, but rather of transposing the narrative from a constative to a performative plane, whereby the meaning of a gesture is its enactment. But, with the advent of sound, Pudovkin is characteristically less concerned with

the preservation of artistic tenets inviolate, than with the capacity of sound to enhance an effect: "The role which sound is to play in film is much more significant than a slavish imitation of naturalism;...the first function of sound is to augment the potential expressiveness of the film's content".[90] In practice, both Pudovkin and Eisenstein were to work productively in sound, although Romm (possibly as an apology for the formal and political "line of least resistance" pursued in the later films) says that Pudovkin had difficulties adapting to dialogue.[91] In the Russian version of A Simple Case he attempted his first experiments in the manipulation of sound perspective; in Deserter these were realised in such moments as the close-up crashing of a chain on the deck and the distorted whining of a palm-court orchestra. Pudovkin explains the intention of his work with Shaporin on the rout of the workers' march through Hamburg:

> The score was written, played and recorded for the whole of the sequence as a single-purposed unity, a workers' march tune with constantly running through it the note of stern and confident victory, firmly and uninterruptedly rising in strength from beginning to end.
> What was the significance of this line? We rendered in this second line, that of the sound, the subjective attitude to be adopted by the spectator towards the content of the happenings in the image. ...It has been clear to me that the emotion of spectators cannot be attributed to the component elements separately, such as skilful editing of the image or the high quality of [the] score. The crux of the matter is...that the emotion derives from far deeper elements integrated as a result of the combination of the two lines- the objective representation of reality in the image and the revelation of the profound inner content of reality in the sound. 92

Of images which constructed in the spectator a sense of sound accompaniment, Pudovkin praises Eisenstein for the figure of the accordion player in Strike, sustaining the im-

pression as the characters move off into the far distance with an elongated fanning shadow from the bellows.[93] The accordion underwrites a satirical edge to the action (as do the tavern players in Mother), and provides an emphatic pace (brutally interrupted by Vlasov's attack on the bartender). Pudovkin praises also the stone lion sequence in Potemkin, rising to the unheard sound of the ship's salvo in the bay. "It is not just, as Pudovkin says, that this effect can be 'reproduced' in words with difficulty", remarks della Volpe, "it is impossible to reproduce it or translate it into words or verbal 'values' without entirely losing its filmic-visual artistry".[94] Indeed, the addition of a sound accompaniment to the sequence sometimes marred rather than assisted its reception: at the first London screening with the Meisel score, the film projection speed was slowed to match the tempo of the music and, to the amusement of the audience, the lions lumbered rather than sprang to attention.[95] The dripping tap in Mother regulates a different tempo in the spectator's perception: its slow monotony effects the dull thud of her grief. "There is a law in psychology", says Pudovkin, "that lays it down that if an emotion give rise to a certain movement, by imitation of this movement the corresponding emotion can be called forth".[96] Asked, by a foreign reporter in 1929, how he would convey the same scene in sound, Pudovkin answered:

> If this were possible I would do it thus: the mother is sitting near the body and the audience hears clearly the sound of the water dripping in the wash-basin; then comes the shot of the silent head of the dead man with the burning candle; and here one hears a subdued weeping.
> That is how I imagine to myself a film that sounds, and I must point out that such a film will remain international. Words and sounds heard...could be rendered in any language... [97]

The psychological substitution and combination of phenomena had been the subject of symbolist speculation before the revolution. Rhythm as a connective device, primordial and constant and underpinning the universe, was subsequently invoked in avant-garde manifestos as frequently as the plastic.(see chapter six, above) Kandinski wrote about colour as being equivalent to music and line equivalent to dance. He not only believed that one means of stimulating the senses to respond, he also believed that one stimulus might be substituted for another to achieve a similar effect and that sensory equivalents could be scientifically measured.[98] Scriabin and Kandinski had discussed the synaesthetic translation of sounds and colours, suggesting an intuitive correspondence with particular tones. A symphony was intended in which music and colour would be manifested simultaneously.[99] Eikhenbaum similarly discussed the comparability of light and melody.[100] Pavlov demonstrated the physiological possibility of transferring, through training, the conditioned reflex associated with an audible sign to a secondary, visible sign. Mechanics of the Brain shows an experiment with a monkey in which a bell or a metronome beat accompanying a blue plate with food is put within the monkey's reach; the monkey takes the food. When a different sequence of beats is used or a red plate, the monkey remains on his perch. There was a similar interest in the brain's ability to render phenomena in the absence of an objective stimulus. Bekhterev follows in a long heritage of scientist -philosophers (Locke, Hume et al) concerned with the inner speech of the deaf and dumb and the perception of colour by the blind.[101](see chapter one, above) The silent

cinematic strategies of Pudovkin and Eisenstein were essentially instrumental and expedient. Conversely, the consciousness of the brain's ability to fabricate that which was not present in concrete experience was, in turn, deliberately exploited. Meierkhold elected to use stylisation, had adopted a form of overt reductionism as a means of engaging the spectator imaginatively in a performance: theoretically, the spectator's creativity became actively involved in the construction of a concept, prompted into action instead of merely looking on.[102]

1920's film theory declared its own formulations of the relationship between the spectator and the director, between the screen and the camera. An attempt was made to incorporate formal positions concerned with the peculiar material and apparatus of film with the perceptual and conceptual effect upon the spectator. Kuleshov posits a formal equation in which the supposed experience of the viewer informs the direction of the scene.(see chapter nine, below) For Kuleshov (unlike della Volpe) the frame retains its substantive presence: "imagine the screen as a blank white rectangle to be filled...".[103] Kuleshov hypothesises a geometric grid, "a pyramid with its apex resting on the camera", along the axes of which the performed action is organised for optimum figurative clarity. This equation serves separate scenes rather than the transitions. Kuleshov says little of what is conceptually constructive in the formal conjunction of these pieces. Theoretically, Eisenstein lays most emphasis on his own editing of the film as the moment at which it begins to exist and as that procedure in which the greatest and most decisive effect is achieved on the spectator. In

practice, unlike Pudovkin, he often shot material without knowing how or whether it was to appear on screen.[104] Eikhenbaum and Eisenstein, extrapolating from Pavlov, argue that meaning is made in the computation or "equilibration" of neural fragments and that montage correspondingly imitates this process, that the formal mechanism maps onto the conceptual, activity occurs in juxtaposition.

Pudovkin too asserts the construction of identity between spectatorship and the making of the film. The process begins for him with the camera angle, his basic unit. Mechanically, the shot is less important for Pudovkin as a photographic record than as a means of selecting and isolating material (frame, focal length, length of shot, angle of camera and angle of vision): "THE CAMERA COMPELS THE SPECTATOR TO SEE AS THE DIRECTOR WISHES".[105] Theoretically, Pudovkin aligns the act of viewing a projected film with his imagining and direction of scenes, already thematically dictated by his scenario. The scenario is pragmatically subdivided in accordance with the length of reels currently available and the customary number of reels per feature. Shutko, writing in 1927, nicely appreciates this as standard practice rather than decisively formulated:

> ...it is sometimes amusing to read of the idle experiments of certain theorists who try to time such cinematic masterpieces as <u>The Tobacco Girl from Seville</u> or <u>The Spanish Dancer</u> and who discover an amazing regularity: each act lasts 11-12 minutes. Their theoretical brains are already ticking over, a cinematurgic 'law' for the construction of a section of a film is ready to be born but it transpires that this is all the result of the more or less constant length of each reel and nothing else. [106]

Pudovkin uses diegetic movement in a single frame juxtaposed with movement in the adjacent frame to ease logical or emo-

tional coherence to the succession of the fragments and uses montage movement to aid the apprehension of his theme: in both direction of the parts and the whole he observes his "psychological law", "guiding the spectator". (see discussion of Mechanics of the Brain, chapter three above) Theoretically, Pudovkin allows little room for ambiguity or divergence of interpretation between himself and his audience, "despotically leading" his audience.

However, direction is for Pudovkin not an entirely unilateral process. The director, he suggests, anticipates a potential viewer's shift of attention from one point of a supposed pro-filmic event to another, both in space and in time. The director's "despotism" resides in his presuming the expectation which he then obligingly satisfies. This shift, he suggests, is ordained by the sequence in which attention would be attracted were an event to be witnessed naturally. Here, however, Pudovkin invites criticism, using as examples citations from scenarios already conventionally, actively ordered into such a sequence. But when Dart and Arnheim complain of inconsistency in practice (sometimes there is no such referent pro-filmic event or an apparently natural sequence is disrupted) they fall foul of a similar presumption, criticising Pudovkin for contravening a convention which is an accessory of the art, no more than provisional, usual but not natural in the sense of essential to the medium, no more than occasionally expedient, even if in practice this becomes a generally favoured option.(see chapter eight, below) The convention of identifying the camera with a participatory rõle in the event is, for Pudovkin, sub-

ordinate to the task of effecting in the spectator a particular theme. A common sense analogy with literature seems useful here; Pudovkin takes the liberty which is allowed the author, sometimes narrating action, sometimes reporting dialogue, but in both capacities adopting a thematic point of view.

1. B.Kazanski, 'The Nature of Cinema', Russian Formalist Film Theory, trans. Herbert Eagle (Michigan: 1981) 101.

2. FT, 57.

3. ibid., 57.

4. ibid.,

5. Edward Braun, Meyerhold on Theatre (London: 1969) 43 & 79.

6. ibid., 147.

7. ibid.,

8. Mel Gordon, 'Meyerhold's Biomechanics', Drama Review 18.3 (1974) 78 and Kuleshov on Film, trans. Ronald Levaco (Berkeley: 1974) 112.

9. Luda and Jean Schnitzer, Poudovkine (Paris: 1966) 12: "...above all, Pudovkin owed to him his respect for the actor, for his own thoughts and feelings"; see also FT, 138; Peter Dart, Pudovkin's Films and Film Theory (New York: 1974) gives a full filmography.

10. FT, 52.

11. FT,

12. Kuleshov interviewed in Schnitzer , Cinema in Revolution, trans. David Robinson (London: 1973) 71.

13. SME I, 95.

14. for an example of the strict allocation of footage see Mikhail Yampolsky, 'Kuleshov's experiments and the new anthropology of the actor', IFF, 45.

15. FT, 84-85.

16. Panofsky gives sources for this story in Idea (New York: 1968) 15.

17. FT, 153.

18. Anatoli Golovnia, La luce nell'arte dell'operatore (Rome: 1951) 239.

19. FT, 119; on the limitations of depth of focus see 121.

20. FT,

21. ibid., xiii.

22. see The Poetics of Cinema, trans. Richard Taylor (Oxford: 1982)

23. ARK zhurnal 8 (1925) 5.

24. FT,

25. SME I, 96.

26. Schnitzer, op.cit., 128.

27. Jeffrey Brooks, When Russia learned to read (Princeton: 1984) 317 & 319 also in Stites, Kenez, Gleason, eds. Bolshevik Culture (Bloomington: 1985) re the difficulties of book distribution; Richard Stites suggests that the insistence on 'correct' reading material led to a fall in literacy after 1917.

28. Richard Stites, Russian Popular Culture (Cambridge: 1992) 42 and Peter Kenez, Cinema and Soviet Society (Cambridge: 1992) 30.

29. for pre-revolutionary adaptations from Pushkin, Tolstoi et al see Yuri Tsivian, ed. Silent Witnesses (London:

30. Anna Lawton, The Red Screen (London: 1992) 7.

31. Mariamov, Pudowkin (Berlin: 1958) 93, re Lenin on the exceptional "timeliness" of the novel; Katerina Clark, The Soviet Novel (London: 1985) 52.

32. Richard Stites, Revolutionary Dreams (Oxford: 1989) 33.

33. Maxim Gorki, The Mother, trans. Isidore Schneider (New Jersey: 1977) 403.

34. Clark, op.cit. 52 says that Zalomov complained to Gorki about the supposed misrepresentation of his mother.

35. David Bordwell, The Cinema of Eisenstein (Cambridge: 1993) 51.

36. Leon Trotski, Literature and Revolution 1924 (Michigan: 1960) 232.

37. Mariamov, op.cit., 98; compare the Pravda review 21:10:26 , quoted op.cit., 126 of Pudovkin's film; also the Kino review, quoted by Richard Taylor, Film Propaganda (London: 1979) 89.

38. Leo Tolstoi, Resurrection, trans. Rosemary Edmonds (Harmondworth: 1979) and The Death of Ivan Ilyich, trans. Rosemary Edmonds (Harmondsworth: 1960) 99-101.

39. V.I.Pudovkin, Sobranie Sochinenii, ed.Karaganov II (Moscow: 1975) 58.

40. Gorki, op.cit.,

41. Barbara Evans Clements, 'The Birth of the New Soviet Woman' in Stites, Kenez, Gleason op.cit. 221: "[The Bolsheviks] believed that the woman of the masses was both conservative who could be the enemy of the revolution and the long-suffering victim of oppression who must be liberated by the revolution".

42. Stites. (1989) 117, quoting Komsomol authors in 1927

43. Babitsky & Rimberg, The Soviet Film Industry, 135.

44. Gorki, op.cit., 132 & 352; for a structured comparison of the novel with the scenario, see Doris Lemmermier, Literaturverfilmung in sowjetischen stummfilm (Vienna: 1989)

45. Aleksandr Blok, The Twelve, ed.Avril Pyman (Durham: 1989) I.

46. Gorki, op.cit., 356.

47. Taylor (1979) 81.

48. ARK zhurnal 1 (1925) 59-64; Art-Ekran 5 (1923) 12.

49. FT, 16.

50. Gorki, op,cit., ; Griffith introduced protagonists similarly in Hearts of the World etc., but Pudovkin says nothing of this.

51. Taylor (1982) 45.

52. FT, 6.

53. Gorki, op.cit., 197.

54. ibid., 364.

55. ibid.,

56. ibid., 392.

57. Babitsky & Rimberg, op.cit., 125.

58. Judith Mayne, Kino and the Woman Question (Columbus: 1989) 108.

59. Clark, op.cit., 49.

60. Gorki, op.cit., 60: The novel abounds in religious imagery, which is less conspicuous in the film; on Gorki as a God Builder see Lunacharski, Religion and Socialism and Stites (1989).

61. Taylor (1982) 8.

62. Vladimir Propp, Theory and History of Folklore (Manchester: 1984) 149.

63. Taylor (1982) 104.

64. ibid., 93; but tragic endings were common in Russian melodrama and were expected by film audiences: Kenez op.cit. 20, "Most Russian films did not conclude happily...in order to penetrate Western markets on occasion Russian directors prepared two endings for a film, a tragic one for domestic audiences and a happy ending for export".

65. G.E.Lessing, Laocoön, trans. Robert Phillimore (London:

1874) 312; also 59, quoting de Quincey: "the freedom of a fine art is found not in the absence of restraint but in the conflict with it".

66. SME II, 118.

67. G.B.Duchenne, The mechanism of human facial expression trans. R.Andrew Cuthbertson (Cambridge: 1990); see also Damasio, Descartes' Error (London: 1994) 148 and Rom Harre, ed.The social Construction of Emotions (Oxford: 1986) 178.

68. Lessing, op.cit., 82.

69. ibid., 17.

70. ibid., 320.

71. ibid., 82.

72. ibid., 315.

73. ibid., 329: poetry and music, says Lessing, were originally a single art.

74. Rudolph Arnheim, Film as Art (London: 1958) 166.

75. ibid., 164.

76. ibid., 177.

77. Galvano della Volpe, Critique of Taste, trans. Michael Caesar (London: 1978) 223; see also Barbaro anthology, including appraisals of Pudovkin by Croce and della Volpe.

78. ibid., 224; one is reminded of Le Corbusier's fond mythologising, "when the temples were white..."; for the beginnings of such a discussion in film, see Disorderly Order (Amsterdam: 1996)

79. ibid., 224.

80. S.Timoshenko, Iskusstva Kino i Montazh Film'a (Leningrad: 1926) 9.

81. SME II, 117.

82. Iutkevich, interviewed in Robinson, op.cit., 14.

83. Kino Oct.-Dec. 1923 and ARK zhurnal (1925)

84. I.M./B.F.I./S.M., item 89.

85. Robinson, op.cit., 141; see also SME I, 188 re 'correction' of religious dance sequence in Storm over Asia by its musical accompaniment.

86. Pages from the life of Dmitri Shostakovich, trans. Hobbs and Midgley (London: 1981) 54.

87. ibid., 54.

88. SME I, 113.

89. FT, 115.

90. ibid.,

91. Robinson, op.cit., 190.

92. FA, 93-95; see also FT, 169 re "snatches of sound"

93. FT, 128.

94. ibid., 88 and della Volpe op.cit., 224.

95. Herbert Marshall,

96. FT,

97. FT, 144.

98. John E.Bowlt, The life of Kandinsky in Russian Art (Newtonville: 1980) 51.

99. ibid., 52; Kandinsky believed that stronger effects could be achieved in contrast rather than in correspondence;

100. Taylor (1982)

101. V.M.Bekhterev, General Principles of Humen Reflexology trans. Murphy (london: 1933) 352.

102. Braun, op.cit., 50.

103. Levaco, op.cit., 66 & 110.

104. Barthélémy Amengual, op.cit., 58.

105. FT, 126.

106. Taylor (1982) 2.

## 8. Poetic Realism and a Poetry of Cinema

In conclusion to his 1974 thesis, Pudovkin's Films and Film Theory, Peter Dart conveniently invokes Bazin's preference for depth of field and the expansive, uninterrupted spaciousness of full-focussed shots as more cinematic than the fragmented analysis necessary for montage; he draws from Bazin the moral that such means are inherently less intentional on the part of the director, more democratically involving of the spectator. Dart sets up Bazin in opposition to the Soviet 'school', whose filmic methods he then facilely suggests are concomitant in their marked intentionality with a dictatorship over the film audience and the wider public. "According to Bazin", says Dart, "montage as used by Kuleshov, Eisenstein or Pudovkin 'did not give us the event, it alluded to it'".* However, I find the assumption made by Dart of a direct correlation between methods and political context unconvincing both as a general thesis and in the particular circumstances of Soviet film in the 1920's and early 1930's. Also, I find the suggestion that Bazin was himself hostile to, or inappreciative of, early Soviet achievements in film misplaced and erroneous.

Bazin distinguishes between two broad and opposing

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*Peter Dart, Pudovkin's Films and Film Theory (New York: 1974) 155. Bazin here speaks of Kuleshov, Eisenstein and Gance and not of Pudovkin [see Qu'est-ce-que le Cinéma I (Paris: 1958) 133 & tr.Gray, What is Cinema? (Berkeley:1967) 25]. Dart concludes, ibid.156 that "Pudovkin's film theory is well-suited to the ends of socialist realism". To the contrary, the period of 'socialist realism' under Stalin's authoritarian control saw a rejection of the type of montage which Dart associates with "intentionality". Consequently, I am suspicious of Dart's reading of Bazin and of his understanding of periodic changes in Soviet film and in Pudovkin's contribution.

trends:

> ...those directors who put their faith in the image and those who put their faith in reality. By 'image' I here mean, very broadly speaking, everything that the representation on the screen adds to the object there represented. This is a complex inheritance but it can be reduced essentially to two categories: those that relate to the plastics of the image and those that relate to the resources of montage, which, after all, is simply the ordering of images in time. 1

Bazin praises the image of the stone lions (while wrongly accrediting this to The End of St.Petersburg) as "a symbol of the aroused masses" and lauds Eisenstein: "Maybe it does not really matter if Russian painting is second rate provided Russia gives us first rate cinema. Eisenstein is her Tintoretto".[2] But Bazin generally values the development of a cinema of reality, marked by a number of formal traits:

> Well-used, shooting in depth is not just a more economical, a simpler, and at the same time a more subtle way of getting the most out of a scene. In addition to affecting the structure of film language, it also affects the relationships of the minds of the spectators to the image, and in consequence it influences the interpretation of the spectacle...in general terms:
> 1)...depth of focus brings the spectator in closer relation with the image than he is with the reality. Therefore it is correct to say that, independently of the contents of the image, that its structure is more realistic;
> 2)...it implies, consequently, both a more active mental attitude on the part of the spectator and a more positive contribution on his part to the action in progress. While analytical montage only calls for him to follow his guide, to let his attention follow along smoothly with that of the director who will choose what he should see, here he is called upon to exercise at least a minimum of personal choice. It is from his attention and his will that the meaning of the image in part derives.
> 3)From the two preceding propositions, which belong to the realm of psychology, there follows a third which may be described as metaphysical. In analysing reality, montage presupposes of its very nature the unity of meaning of the dramatic event. Some other form of analysis is undoubtedly possible but then it would be another film. In short, montage by its very nature rules out ambiguity of expression. Kuleshov's experiment proves this 'per absurdum' in giving on each occasion a precise

> meaning to the expression on a face, the ambiguity of which alone makes the three successively exclusive expressions possible. 3

When Bazin proceeds to a discussion of the particular cinema which he values most highly (the Italian School of the Liberation), he again posits a notion of reality in which he requires the director to place his faith: "Is not neo-realism primarily a kind of humanism and only secondarily a style of film-making? Then as to the style itself, is it not essentially a form of self-effacement before reality?"; "I am prepared to see the fundamental humanism of the current Italian films as their chief merit. They offer an opportunity to savour, before time finally runs out on us, a revolutionary flavour in which terror has yet no part".[4] However, in as much as Bazin's predisposition for reality over image inclines him towards a particular subject-matter as direct source, he finds the true precursor of Paisà, as a film and as an event, in the Soviet 'school' and especially in Battleship Potemkin:

> Was it not from the outset their search for realism that characterised the Russian films of Eisenstein, Pudovkin and Dovzhenko as revolutionary both in art and politics, in contrast to the expressionist aestheticism of the German films and Hollywood's mawkish star worship? 5

Bazin's view of the affinity between Pudovkin and neo-realism is apparently endorsed by the Italians themselves. Zavattini comments: "Pudovkin for us, is not only a great director. Pudovkin for us is cinematography"; Umberto Barbaro adds: "Pudovkin's creative work brings together, into an harmonious and unified whole, a profoundly humane perception of humanity, both theoretically and artistically".[6] Bazin finds in the Italian school "films of the domestic, satiric-

al and social descriptions of everyday life", films which evince "a sensitive and poetic verism",[7](here apparently adopting a term hitherto applied to literature).[8] Given Bazin's distinctions and comparisons, the following questions seem pertinent:

* with what qualifications can literary terms be appropriated in a discussion of film;
* is the term 'poetic realism' an oxymoron, indicating a concept theoretically problematic and contradictory;
* does ambiguity in the image constitute its realism and/or its poetry;
* in what sense does it apply to early Soviet film practice (and especially Pudovkin);
* what creative tolerance, in practice, does Pudovkin's supposed 'intentionality' allow a spectator?

The revolutionary poet, says Maiakovskii, requires an exact sense of the group represented on a given question, "i.e. an orientation towards an objective"; work begins with this social command.[9] Maiakovskii and his avant-garde colleagues belligerently rejected the absorption of a previous generation of Symbolist poets with personal inspiration and introspection. Furthermore, would-be practitioners are exhorted to carry notebooks to work on their verses anywhere and to take down words and rhythms caught in passing on the street: "...fill the granaries of your skull with all kinds of words, necessary, expressive, rare, invented, renovated and manufactured".[10] For Maiakovskii, poetry was a real weapon and "a difficult and laborious job".[11] He despised decorative and academic versifying (a poetry of iambuses and

trochees) and abstract speculation ("problems of beauty, aims of art") as superfluous and irrelevant; he favoured a poetry which adopted the sloganeering and typographical style of newspapers and agitational tracts, forms which suited themselves to polemical purposes. Criticism placed greater emphasis on how a work was made, on concrete problems of articulating form and its development, rather than by whom.[12] For Maiakovskii, as for Pudovkin, rhythm is the basis of effective construction and the principal means of affecting an audience. Golovnia and Pudovkin share with Maiakovskii his commitment to the centrality of theme, for instance in Zarkhi's working title St.Petersburg -Petrograd-Leningrad for End of St.Petersburg, and purposefully set out to discover plastic material suitable to this end.[13] (see chapter six, above) Pudovkin acknowledges that much useful material may be found opportunely during the course of work; at other times it needs must be (or is more expediently) fabricated.

Pudovkin never, in theory or pracice, prioritises the chance encounter. He consistently distances himself from Vertov and the 'kinoki', enthralled by the camera's unique ability to "seize life unawares", nor was he interested in the ordinary or routine for its own sake. Golovnia spoke of filming St.Petersburg in the evening, in twilight and during the White Nights, "when contours become uncertain, space nebulous, when the image loses its naturalistic quality and acquires a certain form conventionally deemed poetic".[14] Pudovkin, in Film Technique, was at pains to stress the ability of the camera to distance the film spectator from everyday experience, demanding of himself and other film-

makers such an estrangement of source material: "The power of filmic representation lies in the fact that, by means of the camera, it continually strives to penetrate as deeply as possible, to the mid-point of every image...To show something as everyone sees it is to have accomplished nothing".[15] Here again, Pudovkin is voicing sentiments concurrently expressed elsewhere. Viktor Shklovskii, in 1923, writes in terms reminiscent of Moholy-Nagy's celebration of re-discovered forms, "...the plastic features of a face, of shells, flowers and a thousand other matters" (see chapter six, above):

> The transfer of the object to the 'sphere of new perception'...was proclaimed as the principal aim, the raison d'être of poetry. 'People living at the seashore grow so accustomed to the murmur of the waves that they never hear it. By the same token we scarcely ever hear the words which we utter... We look at each other but we do not see each other any more. Our perception of the world has withered away, what has remained is mere recognition'. It is this inexorable pull of routine, of habit, that the artist is called upon to counteract. [16]

For Pudovkin, as for Bazin, the discrepancy between the mechanical properties of the camera and the faculty of human vision is a matter for theoretical consideration. Whereas Bazin claims that deep focus compensates for the fallibility of the eye, constructing an enhanced, more complete reality than that normally available, Pudovkin cites the camera's angle of vision as a selective and analytic function which a at once removes the film image from the merely common place:

> Normal human vision can embrace a little less than 180' of surrounding space...the field of the lens is considerably less...already the director begins to leave behind the normal apprehension of real space..picks out from it only a part...Not only does the small view angle set bounds to the space in which the action develops both in height and in width...but the depth of the space picked out is also limited. [17]

While Pudovkin is committed to a realism of theme and representation and the derivation of settings and images in the actual world (the wind, water and landscapes of Storm over Asia and The End of St.Petersburg), the use of genuine documentary sequences is rare. Golovnia was required circumstantially to film the ceremony of the monks in Mongolia in total (see chapter four, above); in the most factual film, Mechanics of the Brain,much of the material was of necessity, Pudovkin admits, staged for the camera (see chapter three, above); footage of Trotski and of the Red Army parading is neatly inserted into Mr.West in the land of the Bolsheviks (ill.8.i); in Chess Fever, location footage of the 1925 Moscow chess tournament is edited into the story, showing the participants Capablanca, Grüfeld, Torré, Spielman etc., "every photograph of the masters", says the reviewer in Sovetskoe Kino, "shows us a moment in the course of play".[18] Capablanca, occasionally looking nervously to camera, was persuaded to appear in the film as a performing 'type' alongside Anna Zemtsova (the 'type', that is, of Capablanca himself).(ills.8.ii;iii) Pudovkin and Zarkhi certainly attach themselves to real material in the sense that they drew from reports of actual events for the scenario of Mother, (see chapter seven, above) But Pudovkin's attitude to this raw material is that without deliberate selection and direction it lacks specific form or thematic content: "Usually...the scenarist gives the director the idea as such, the detached content of the image, and not its concrete form";[19]

> The editing-plan can exist before the moment of shooting, and then the will of the director transforms and subdues reality in order to assemble the work out of it. The editing-plan can appear during the process of shooting, if the director come upon unforeseen material, use it simultaneously orientating his work according to that feas-

8.ii.

8.i.

# КИНО И ШАХМАТЫ

Общее увлечение шахматами нашло свое отражение и в кино. Недавний Международный Шахматный турнир в Москве, вызвавший такой интерес по всем уголкам нашей республики, был заснят т-вом „Межрабпом-Русь" в специальной шахматной комедии „Шахматные горячки". Сценарий написали шахматисты И. Шапошников, режиссура — В. Пудовкина и автора сценария. Комедия сегодня в плане фильмовых—премьер. Увлечение шахматами в дни турнира приобретает в ней гипербалическое размеры. Остроумно даны нарождающиеся

характеристики шахматистов, комментаторов, публики на турнире, автографов и др.

В отличном темпе выдержана вся картина до последнего кадра. Много остроумных положений, много динамики, по фильмотехнику остро поданный материал.

Шахматами, Ейтс. Зеленко, Дуз-Хотимирский. Все они снялись в помещении Международного турнира в Метрополе. И каждый снимок демонстрирует нам мастера в один из моментов игры.

Картина пользовалась большим успехом, как в Москве, так

В картине, между прочим, снялись все главнейшие участники турнира, начиная с Капабланки. Последний принимает участие даже в чисто-сюжетных развертывающих действиях. По ходу картины он знакомится с героиней, влюбляется в нее, и способствует

в Ленинграде, где она должна собрать деньги с лучшими шахматистами Европы.

Шахматные горячки Москвы, как оказалось, были очень учтены нашими шахматно-фильмами.

Торре
Дуз Хотимирский

Капабланка
Зеленко

Рети
Шпильман

Гринфельд
Бернштейн

8.iii.

> ible future form that will compose, from the pieces shot, a united filmic image. 20

In practice, says Pudovkin, the expedient image, the concrete form, could be selected, the direction of the film be instigated, by any of a number of collaborators: Pudovkin, Zarkhi, Golovnia or Doller.[21]

Dart is concerned with metaphor in Pudovkin's films above any other attributes which might render or qualify them as poetic (rhythm, metre, syntax for instance), in spite of Eisenstein's famous praise of The End of St.Petersburg as exemplary of perfect metric montage. (see chapter nine, below) Expansive definitions of literary metaphor have been drawn upon in the attempt, by Trevor Whittock and others, to find equivalent categories for film.[22] For these, ample illustration can readily be found in Pudovkin, both in his selection of pro-filmic material and the method and ordering of construction. The End of St.Petersburg and Mother offer the following examples:

| | |
|---|---|
| Identity asserted: | the mouth of the canon and the baby's howling in the war sequence; |
| Explicit comparison: | the capitalist Lebedev (shot from below) and the statue of the imperialist, Peter the Great |
| Substitution: | the city shown as its reflection in the Neva; lapses of time shown as the painstaking grinding of a blade in the trenches, in the waning of a whisp of steam from a glass of tea |
| Juxtaposition: | bandy-legged senators and the cabriole legs of senate chairs; fragments of ice on water, the demonstrators' shadows cast across them; |
| Metonymy: | wheels turning and smoke billowing as the factory day begins; a jewelled hand reaching into a cornucopia of fruit and champagne; |
| Synecdoche: | the stroking of the mother's hands; an |

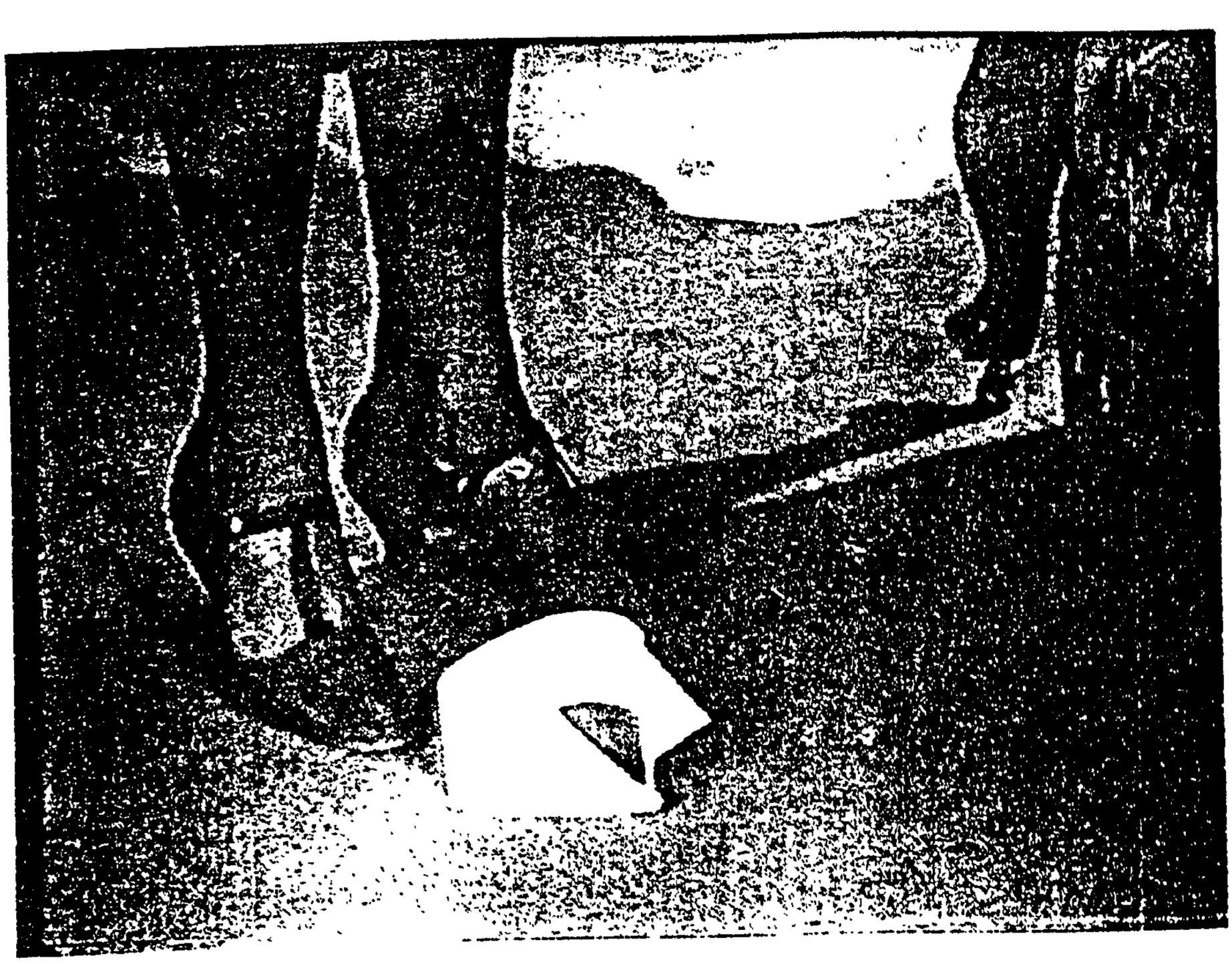
arm issuing the command to war; the cross on the equestrian statue (military, ecclesiastical and political power combined in a single figure)

Distortion: ant-like peasants, with the dark shadow of the equestrian looming over them;

Rule disruption: shots of Pavel and the officer looking increasingly intently; reiterative repetition of the same shot out of sequence (the Bolshevik leader, arm raised); the superimposition or over-lapping of shots (the accordion players in the tavern, the succession of colonnades and mounting stock prices);

Chiming: calm water rippling. fields furrowed, clouds drifting left to right, (sliced through by the blades of the windmill cutting top to bottom).

Sometimes a metaphor (such as the dripping tap as the mother mourns Vlasov) arose spontateously in the course of work; sometimes a metaphor which Pudovkin judged effective in the context of another film was adapted for use elsewhere: Pudovkin cites, for instance, a smoking ashtray in The Leather Pushers: "The spectator immediately visualises the great space of time the man has been waiting and, no less, the degree of excitement that has made him smoke nearly a hundred cigarettes".[23] The breaking ice floes of Mother owe much to Way Down East, where Bartlett jumps across ice floes to save Anna Moore- as the jam breaks and the floes approach the fall, the floes hurtle forwards. Pudovkin found the telling details of Chaplin's Woman of Paris especially effective also.(ill.8.iv) Effective here carries connotations of economy (concision), the strength of an image in preference to a possible title and ready recognition; but it also, I suggest, generally implies for Pudovkin the selection of material which can be accommodated readily within the diegesis, incorporated into the "united filmic image". Pasolini suggest-



8.iv.

ed that the attachment of film to concrete form prevented it from expressing abstractions, "It can be a parable but never a directly conceptual expression".[24] In Pudovkin, it seems to me, images render and endorse the parable, images arise organically from their thematic, conceptual function and simultaneously ground that theme in concrete material and experience; their place in a sequence provides sufficient information for adequate interpretation of the parable, even at the expense (as Orrom, Burch and Kepley have observed) of consistently regulated narrative and spatial continuity.[25] Unlike a number of Eisenstein's sequences (most famously the Gods sequence in October) Pudovkin uses objects naturalistically located within the mise-en-scène. These shots, says Eisenstein were a grize towards realising his notion of intellectual cinema, they "were assembled on a descending intellectual scale and lead the notion of god back to a block of wood".[26] Pudovkin was aware of such a distinction between himself and Eisenstein. In his early writings he was generous in his praise and in no way disapproved Eisenstein's different approach:

> In his film a stone lion rises to its feet and roars. This image has hitherto been thinkable only in literature, and its appearance on the screen is an undoubted and thoroughly promising innovation. It is interesting to observe that in this short length of film all the characteristic elements peculiar and specific to filmic representation are united. The battleship was taken in Odessa, the various stone lions in the Crimea, and the gates...in Moscow. The elements are picked out and welded into one united filmic space. From different, immovable stone lions has arisen in the film the non-existent movement of a filmic lion springing to its feet. Simultaneously with this movement has appeared a time non-existent in reality, inseparably bound up with each movement...Naturally this example of the lions instanced here cannot be brought into relation with the use of the camera as observer. It is an exceptional example, offering undoubted possibilities in the future for the

> creative work of the film director. Here the film passes from naturalism, which in a certain degree was proper to it, to free, symbolic representation, independent of the requirements of elementary probability. 27

Pudovkin uses objects naturalistically located within the mise-en-scène, either in the action and or in isolated close-up. Their metaphoric significance is cued by the surrounding action: in Storm over Asia, the puddle through which Bair tramps regardless on the way to his execution is skirted around by the British soldier, staving off the dread moment.(see chapter four, above) Sometimes the context can be immediate: the puddle is preceded by the soldier procrastinating in the barracks. Sometimes the context is cued by sequences earlier or later in the same film. The increasing turbulence of the elements (the rippling of water, the wind in the trees) functions as a variant of the 'chiming' metaphor identified by Whittock. Storm over Asia culminates in a sequence in which umpteen billy cans are rolled over the steppes by a tempest, followed by soldiers' caps, followed by soldiers themselves, unable to stand against the force of the storm, gusting and billowing a thousand leaves against them.[28] In Mother, morning is shown by mists over still water and the cockerel crowing; waves and the stirring of the wind appear after the death of Vlasov; the elemental imagery culminates in the ice floes breaking as Pavel escapes and the demonstrating mass advances. In the joy sequence, Pavel's vision of laughing children playing in the open is matched with the other prisoners' "Dreams of Freedom": back on the farm, working the land, for instance. The joy sequence is also worked into the diegesis in parenthesis, with the mother returning (from the prison) through the field

and past the duck pond at which the children play; the ice floes break as Pavel is attempting to escape across the river, heightening the urgency of the drama, as much as signalling the cataclysmic revolution which is to follow. The title "And outside it is spring" simultaneously conveys narrative information, necessary to the plot, and functions metaphorically, conveying the subject of the parable contemplated by Pavel on hearing of the escape.[29]

Rudolph Arnheim criticises the sequence for inadequately prefacing its figurative intention: "Each shot is substantive...Film's affinity for physical reality compels each shot to maintain its literal significance".*

> It is very questionable whether the symbolic connection of smile, brook, sunbeams 'happy prisoner' and 'joyous child' can add up to visual unity. It has been done thousands of times in poetry; but disconnected themes can easily be joined in language because the mental images attached to words are much vaguer, more abstract and will therefore more readily cohere. Putting actual pictures in juxtaposition, especially in an otherwise realistic film, often appears forced. The unity of the scene, the story of the prisoner who is rejoicing, is suddenly interrupted by something totally different. Comparisons and associations like the brook and the sunbeams are not lightly touched upon in the abstract but are introduced as concrete pieces of nature- and hence are distracting. 30

Arnheim admits that, however unsuccessful he finds this particular instance, the possibility of the kind of montage which it represents nevertheless exists. He does not qualify his criticism by reference to the reception of the film by the audience for which it was intended, nor to any familiar conventional cinematic cues on which the sequence may be re-

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*Arnheim was a dedicated follower of Gestalt psychology; certainly he tends to argue for a consolidation of images into unitary wholes rather than their successive accumulation but I am more interested here in his specific objections rather than his general stance.

lying. But in pre-revolutionary and Soviet film, the close-up of a face staring full forwards was often used as an announcement of introspection.(see chapter five, above) Razumny's Brigade Commander Ivanov (1923), for instance, uses such a shot as a lead into a revelation of the commender's thoughts. Arnheim's disposition tends towards aesthetic dogmatism and essentialism. Similarly, in his discussion of sound, Balàzs maintains that in film it can only ever be reproduction and not representation; Pudovkin attempts in Deserter to employ equivalent distortions from the habitual and commonplace, 'close-ups' in sound. Viktor Shklovskii noted the stylistic inconsistencies in Mother but found them less objectionable:

> When we examine Pudovkin's Mother, in which the director has taken great pains to create a rhythmic construction, we observe a gradual displacement of everyday situations by purely formal elements. The parallelism of the nature scenes at the beginning prepares us for the acceleration of movements, the montage and the departure from everyday life that intensifies towards the end. The ambiguity of the poetic image and its characteristically indistinct aura, together with the capacity for simultaneous generation of meaning by different methods, are achieved by a rapid change of frames that never manage to become real. The very device that resolves the film- the double exposure angled shot of the Kremlin walls moving- exploits the formal rather than the semantic features: it is a poetic device...Mother is a unique centaur, an altogether strange beast. The film starts out as prose, using emphatic intertitles which fit the frame very badly and ends up as purely formal poetry. Recurring frames and images and the transformation of images into symbols support my conviction that this film is poetic by nature.
> 31

Eisenstein too found disparities in the film:

> In actual fact the complete played 'chamber' quality of The End of St.Petersburg and Mother is suddenly overturned in the middle of the film by a whole swarm of mass-scale and impersonally expressed methods for the social characterisation of phenomena. The disproportion in the work is unavoidable and obvious.
> 32

Pudovkin, ever sensitive to criticism, was sufficiently personally piqued to reply:

> If the film was a success, it seems to me that this is because I really showed everything that I felt and experienced in a very simple manner. I like this film more than any other of my works. There is a unity in it. Shklovskii calls me a centaur. Personally, I think that I was a young puppy, with one paw shorter than the others. I do not want to be a mythological beast- it has no future. But I know that a puppy becomes a grown up and lively dog- and it's this dog that I want to become. 33

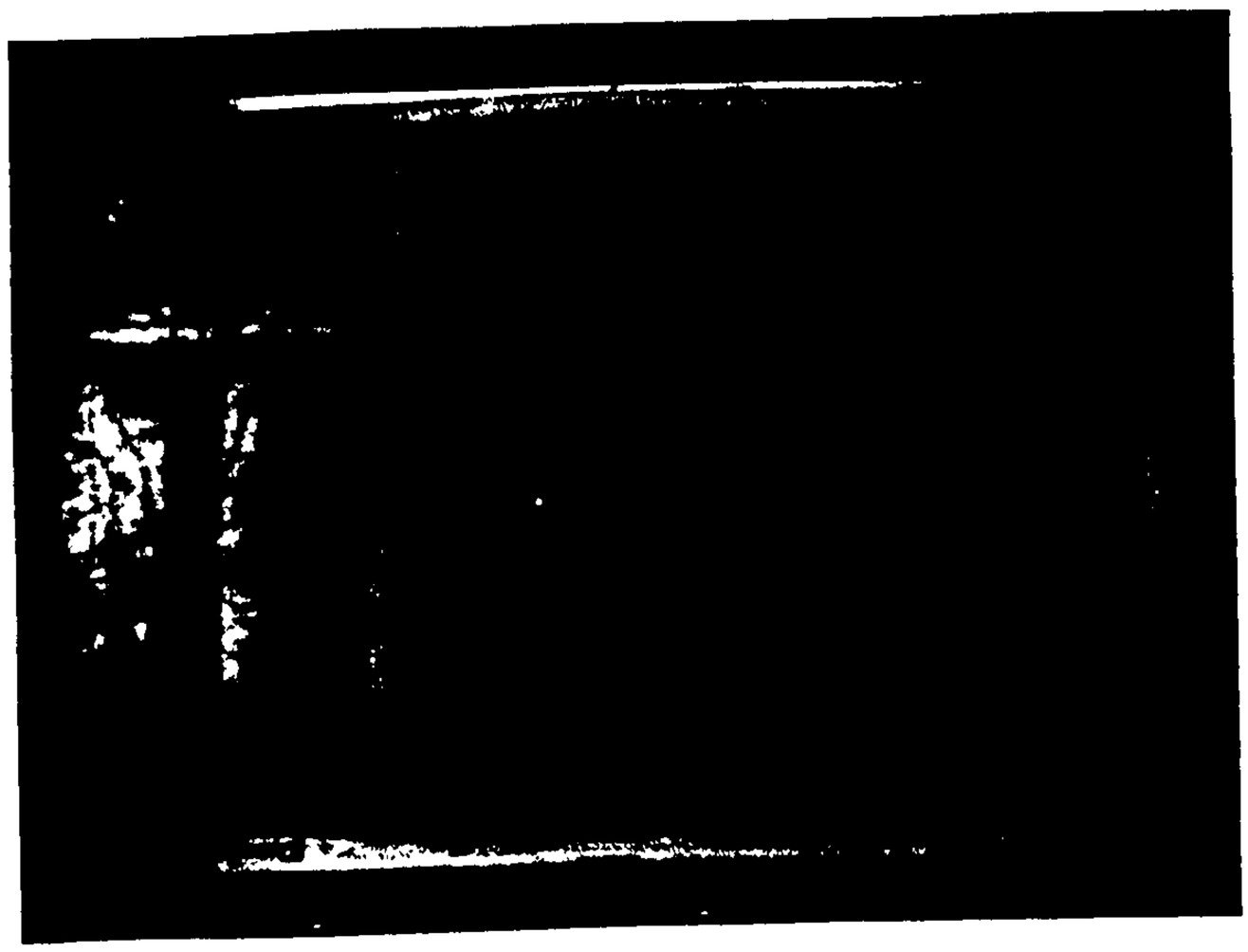
Fundamentally, Pudovkin seems to have been following the pattern which he presented publicly in Kino-stsenarii in the same year, attempting to carry the action and impact forward without titles towards the end, interweaving the various threads of the plot with the metaphoric parable in accelerated tempo.(see chapter six, above)

What seems to me significant in all this is the pervasive recourse to literary models and the urge towards theoretical differentiation between poetry and prose comparable with literary criticism. Paradoxically, while Pudovkin theoretically repeats the concurrent received wisdom that the director should "despotically lead" the spectator (thereby lending support to Bazin's supposition), in practice there remains sufficient ambiguity for images to be read effectively either, or both, figuratively and narratively. Eikhenbaum maintains that no cinematic metaphor exists that is not verbal first. While Eisenstein appreciates the 'emotional dynamism' of Mother (the ice breaking and the workers' demonstration) and The End of St.Petersburg (the stock exchange and the battlefield) he complained of literary parallelism that "does nothing to enliven the material" (such, he said, was the case with Otsep's The Living

Corpse).[34] It seems to me that the ideal spectator posited by Pudovkin is not only the equivalent of the "ideal perspicuous observer" of an actual pro-filmic event, his or her observation finding itself re-presented on screen; the ideal spectator, "and it is the director who makes him so" is the film spectator who is able simultaneously to analyse and synthesise the "united filmic image" presented in the experience of its viewing, and that recourse to verbal definition or explanation, while it may endorse the image, is by no means essential to its understanding.[35]

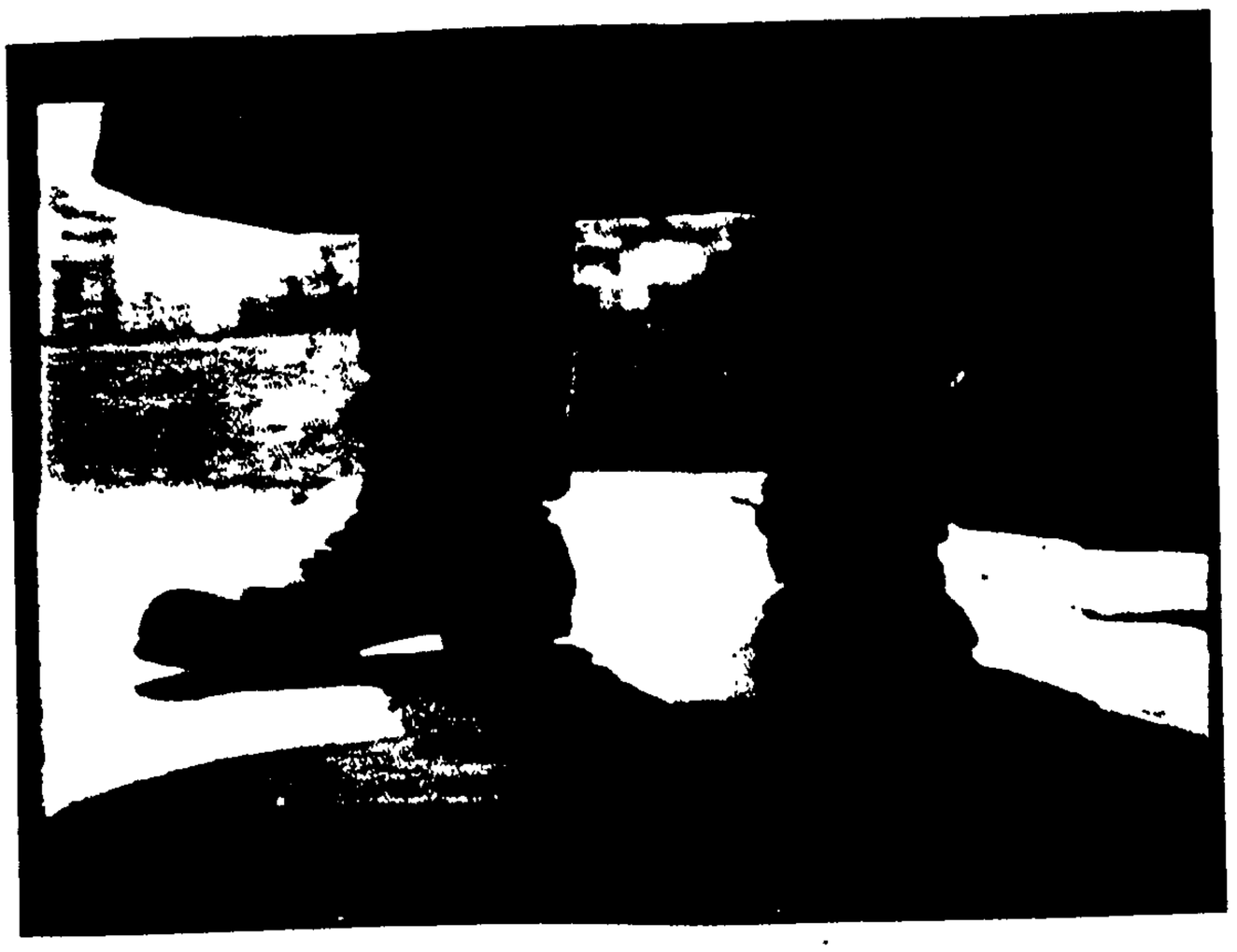
Titles, too, serve figuratively as images in the montage as plastic material, not merely to convey speech, narrative or directorial commentary. In The End of St.Petersburg the same format of title ('Peasants...' , written as three lines stepped diagonally down the frame) is repeated as a reminder of the drudgery of their "meanwhile" alongside the action in the city. Typeface and size may also be regarded as a potential form of distortion metaphor.[36](see chapter six, above)

The metaphorical content of the image is conveyed not only by the concrete object which is photographed. Film metaphor, says Eikhenbaum, "can be built on devices such as camera angle, lighting etc.".[37] For Pudovkin, the selection of camera position and angle is the basic unit of differentiation: "first is worked out into sequences, the sequences into scenes, and these are constructed by editing from the pieces, each corresponding to a camera angle".[38] Frequently, pudovkin selects a camera position which serves a primarily metaphoric, directorially interpretative function rather than representing a point of view of any of the characters



На незыблемых
устоях права
и справедливости.

Pillars of justice and honour



8.v.

in the diegetic space: the shot is selected for its effect upon the spectator. The close-up of the heavy boots of the guard at the court room in Mother is matched with a shot of the colonnaded portico and the ironic title "Pillars of Justice and Honour"(ill.8.v); Falconet's Bronze Horseman is matched with the statuesque figure of Lebedev, his torso static and dominating the frame, the head slowly turning above the stiff white collar.

Although Pudovkin speaks of the cut from one shot in a film to another corresponding to a shift in the attention of the "ideal perspicuous observer" to a supposed event, he does not render these cuts transparent- the shift from one shot to another can become recognisably a vehicle of metaphor. Here again, Pudovkin is not positing or undertaking anything new. Earlier theoreticians had realised that there was in the connection of shots the potential for more or less creative interpretation. Indeed, for an earlier generation of theoreticians, it is as much montage as creative engagement of the viewer which qualifies film as art as montage as a creative putting together on the part of the filmmaker. In 1919, Shipulinski observed:

> The procedure of viewing and perceiving film works on the principle of exchanging images which appear for a moment on screen and are immediately associated with those which have just disappeared so that the viewer's imagination is the very factor which gives new meaning to the moving objects on the screen. [39]

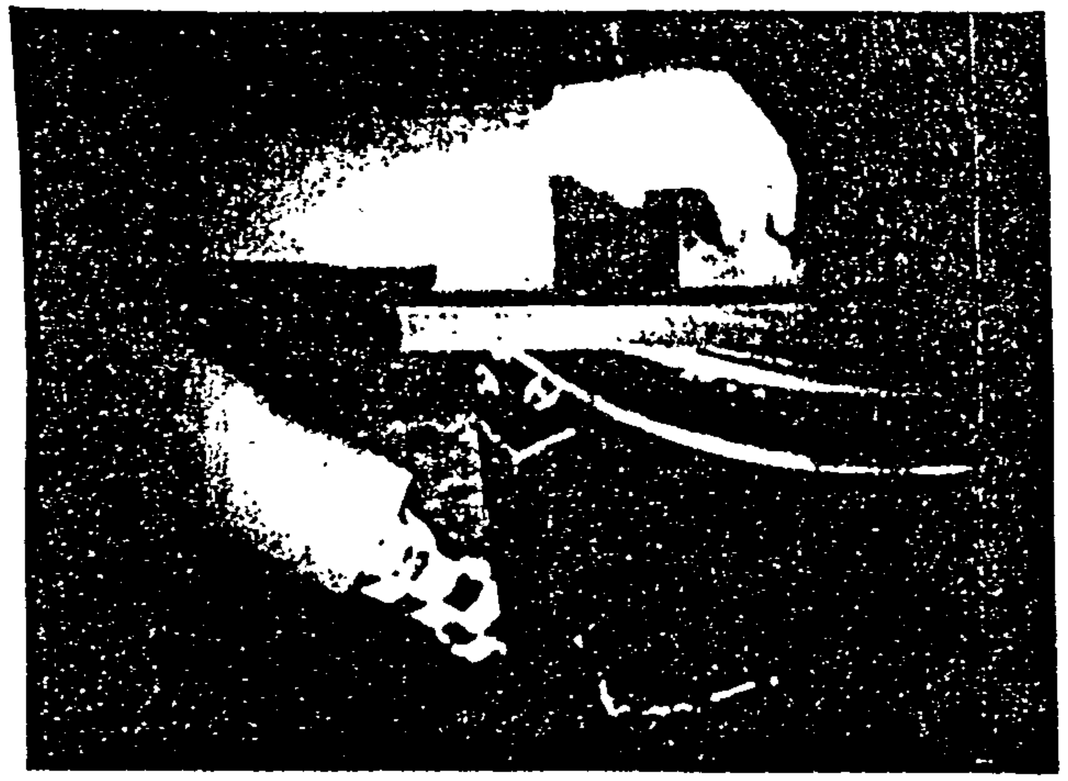
A mix can presage the "initiation of one idea giving birth to another"; the fade to black a "drawing away" from the scene by an observer.[40] In Mechanics of the Brain, the opening and closing of the iris substitute for the lapse of time between labour pangs. Although Pudovkin speaks hypothetic-

ally of the correspondence of the editing of shots with the "natural transference of attention of an imaginary observer (who, in the end, is represented by the spectator)",[40] Pudovkin is aware, along with Eikhenbaum, and indeed Bazin, that the means whereby such a natural transference is effected in cinema is no more than an artifice, a style or convention and that other means equally lie at the disposal of the director:

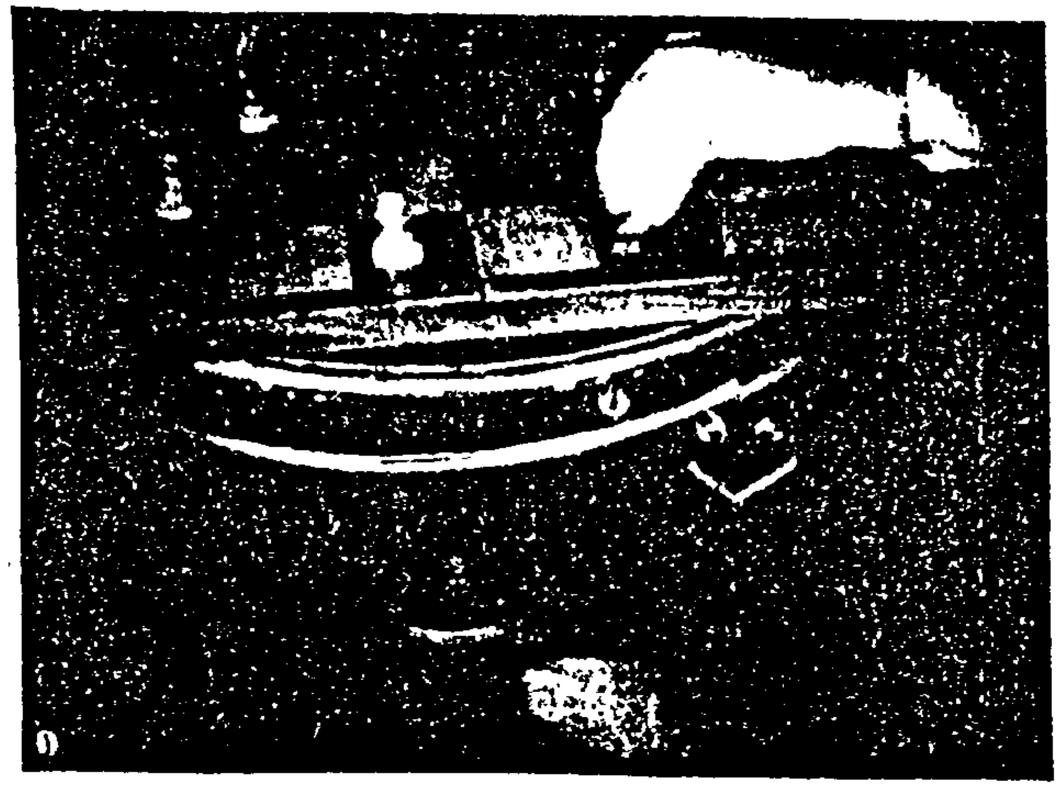
> Once we begin to speak about film styles and about shot composition, that much-talked-about 'naturalism' can be seen to represent only one of many possible styles, a style which is in no way less conventional than the others...naturalism in cinema is no less conventional than literary or theatrical naturalism. [41]

In Chess Fever, Pudovkin makes an entertaining play on such a convention, the hypothesis of creative geography tested by Kuleshov.(see chapter nine, below) After the establishing shots of the Moscow tournament,in which competitors are shown facing each other either side of the board, we are introduced to another scene by a series of close-ups: a jacket sleeved hand moves the white pieces; from the opposite direction, a hand in a shirt cuff moves the black; the camera pulls back to reveal Fogel playing against himself.[42] (ill.8.vi)

Arnheim, Orrom, Kepley and Burch note Pudovkin's deviation from syntactical rules governing the spatial and temporal orientation of the film spectator, some of which Pudovkin appears himself to endorse provisionally in Kino-Stsenarii and Kino-rezhisser i Kino-material; Dart says that this damages the required spectatorial "identification" with the film.[43] In practice, while Pudovkin adheres consistently and rigorously to a certain set of working proced-



8.vi.a.



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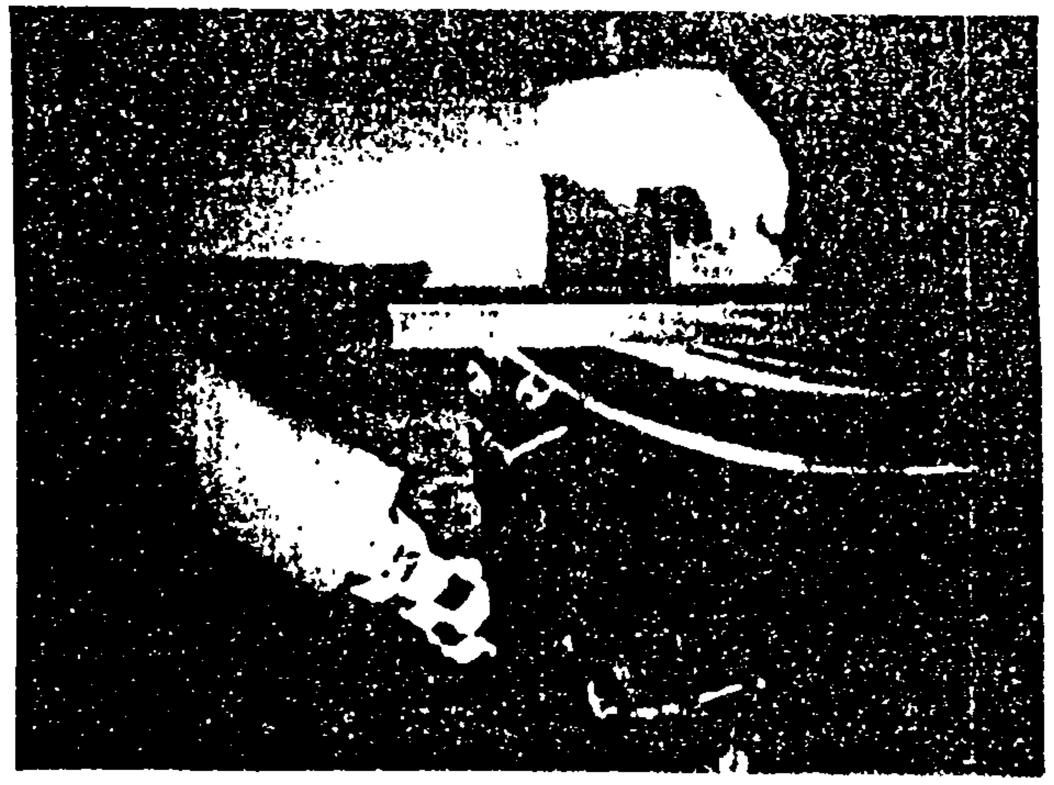
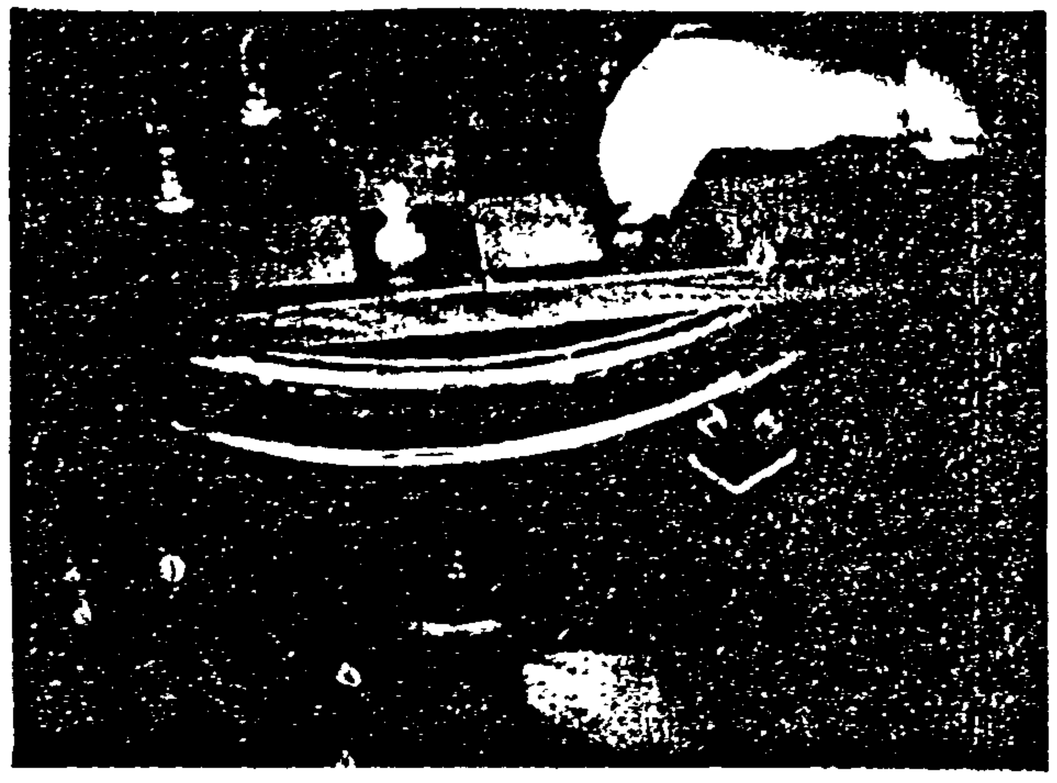


8.vi.c.



8.vi.d.

8.vi.e.

8.vi.f.

ures, formal construction is governed by expedience and the particular context of the film. Pudovkin wills a particular interpretation of an image by its position in a sequence; images may be introduced in an apparently narrative sequence which grounds them in the diegesis, then are subsequently interspersed as individual frames in later montage sequences in which they figure metaphorically, as a momentary tendentious reminder of a larger synthesis. A shot of a factory worker, collapsed from exhaustion, is established early in The End of St.Petersburg and then recurs; a sodier dying agonisingly slowly in the mud of the trenches is cut successively into the stock market sequence, the frenetic activity as prices rise ("both sides are satisfied"). The series of shots of landmarks of St.Petersburg includes the distinctive silhouette of St.Isaac's Cathedral and the tympanum of the cathedral portico bearing its dedication to its patron on the entablature; the equestrian statues of Peter the Great, Alexander III and Nicholas I precede the officer on the bridge, similarly mounted; a close-up of the cross on the flank of Tsar Nicholas' steed becomes a figure for the union of the city with the lineage of the tsars, and of the tsars with the church, repeated later during the war sequence; the single silhouette of St.Isaac's dome is used to locate parallel action in St.Petersburg alongside the trenches. Pudovkin creates a unique realm which does not of necessity refer to a context of real space and time; the film provides its own context of hermeneutic necessity in which the particular poetic image is crucial. Pudovkin's images, certainly before Storm, are rarely simply decorative. As Tarkovski says: "The straightforward narrative cannot contain the pressure of

ideas awakened by the story, the necessity arises to work not in the prosaic, plot-centred form but in the 'compositional' poetic form".[44]

Maiakovskii says that, for the poet, the creation of neologisms is no less than obligatory and that syntactical rules exist to be broken: "A poet is a person who creates these very rules...A mathematician is a man who establishes, enlarges and develops mathematical rules, a man who introduces new concepts into mathematical knowledge".[45] But Maiakovskii is equally dismissive of the free-for-all largesse of supposedly 'free' verse and of art for art's sake:

> I make this stipulation: establishing rules is not in itself the aim of poetry, otherwise the poet turns into a scholastic exercising his powers in formulating rules for non-existent or useless things and propositions...A proposition which demands formulation demands rules, is thrust upon us by life. Methods of formulation, the aim of rules, are defined by factors of class and the needs of our struggle. 46

The deviation of Pudovkin's practice from standard logical syntax (to which he adheres closely in Mechanics of the Brain) is in some measure exonerable as (or even demonstrative of) poetic licence:

> The film is yet young and the wealth of its methods is not yet extensive; for this reason it is possible to indicate temporary limitations without necessarily attributing to them the permanence and inflexibility of laws.
>
> Everything said here regarding simple methods of taking shots has certainly only information value. What paricular method of shooting is to be used, only his own taste and his own finer feelings can tell the scenarist. Here are no rules; the field for new invention and combination is wide. 47

In The End of St.Petersburg and Mother, Pudovkin rhythmically repeats images in order to underscore a particular meaning quite apart from the immediately contiguous diegetic context; these shots are not routinely interpolated into a

standard pattern of editing, rather, the particular rhythm and syntax of the film is constructed out of them. In The End of St.Petersburg, the raising and lowering of the ship's guns over the Neva is a recurring motif: its recurrence lends shape and visual structure to the film and dynamically punctuates the narrative; the guns denote the ominous power of the state over the workers, but it is their labour, feverishly polishing shells, which keeps the guns primed; the guns are garlanded for war; the guns of the Aurora salute the fall of the Winter Palace. The aesthetic freedom which Pudovkin accords the director, fundamentally romantic in tendency, is qualified by his insistence upon the selection of real material, both thematically and in its concrete vocabulary (material corresponding to everyday experience). For Shkolvskii, it is this preponderance of the formal over the semantic which renders a work poetic; for Pudovkin, the thematic derivation of images equally renders the work real.

Pudovkin was well aware that interpreting the explicit function of metaphors theoretically often seemed to diminish the potency with which they were felt at the actual moment of their being viewed in the film. Contemporary commentators, attempting to describe his work to a foreign audience, were equally aware that Pudovkin's images could not be reduced sensibly to description: "On paper this sounds complicated", says Winifred Ellermann, writing in 1928, "Everything is clear, watched on the screen"; "Things that seemed so clear in the pictures seem diffuse, almost confused put into sentences".[48]

The variations in the manner in which Pudovkin makes

the shift from one shot to another serve a phatic function, prompting a passive viewer into becoming an alert spectator; this requires a positive contribution from the spectator to the action of the action of the film (rather than, as Bazin would have it, to the action of the pro-filmic event). Nor is the spectator, in spite of the "intentional" director's very best endeavours, unfailingly obliged to assimilate that compelled intention. Eikhenbaum, and indeed Bazin, noted that all viewing of montage implicated the operation of metaphor, and thereby a degree of ambiguity overcome only by familiarity with convention or idiosyncracy, even montage which was intent upon the reconstruction of a dramatic event in an integrated spatial and temporal unity (that is to say, naturalist in Eikhenbaum's terms and realist in those of Bazin):

> In order to study the laws of cinema (and in the first place of montage) it is very important to realise that the perception and understanding of films is inseparably linked to the formation of internal speech, which chains the individual shots together. Without this process, only the 'trans-sense' elements of cinema would be perceived...The film viewer must carry out a complex mental process in linking the shots...a process almost absent in everyday life, where the word envelops everything and crowds out other means of expression ...It is not accidental that there are people for whom mental cinema work seems difficult, exhausting, unfamiliar and unpleasant...Cinema demands of the viewer a very special technique of guess-work, and this technique will, of course, grow more complicated with the further development of cinema. Already directors often use symbols and metaphors whose sense relies directly on current verbal metaphors. The process of internal speech continually accompanies film viewing. We have already grown accustomed to an entire set of typical formulas of film language; the slightest innovation in this area will strike us no less than the appearance of a new word in the language. [49]

The concern of Maiakovskii to lay bare the manufacturing procedures of poetry, the concern of Pudovkin and Eikh-

enbaum to determine the construction and perception of film, is analogous to that of physiological psychology in its impetus to make manifest and to investigate by means of hypothesis the workings of the brain. Crudely, the formation of conditioned reflexes would seem to demonstrate how substitution metaphors can operate (colours for the monkey; sounds for the dog: see chapters seven and three above). Pavlov was led to speculate that even language, a secondary system peculiar to man, might come in the future to be regarded as a complex and advanced construct of conditioned reflexes. This seemingly originates in the notion of substitutive elements in an arbitrary symbolic language; those elements of language which are not directly designative seem more resistent to such ready theoretical accommodation. Bekhterev ascribes to spoken language a gap between the utterance and the understanding of meaning, similar to that which Eikhenbaum identifies in the internal processing of a subjective perception of film. "According to the philologist Potebnia", he says, quoting from a symposium held in 1916, "speaking does not mean the transmitting of thought from one man to another, but rather the awakening of his own thoughts in the man to whom he speaks".

> In view of this, we must admit that what the hearer understands is only similar to what happens in the speaker. It is clear from this that language, as a motor reaction, only sets in motion a similar thought, which develops in direct dependence on the man's personality. He who hears the speech of others thereby develops his own thought and does not receive the external thought expressed in words of the speaker. According to Professor Polianov, everything we say really requires a listener who understands the subject of discourse...We use in speech only necessary allusions. Once these arouse in the listener the necessary thought, our goal is reached...Let us take poetry- the language of images- which is much more condensed than ordinary practical language, yet who does not know that

> one or two lines of a poem arouse more thoughts than a whole treatise on the same subject? In Potebnia's opinion, each word contains three elements: the sound, which may be divided into its parts; the idea contained in it; and its meaning as a symbol. The sound and meaning remain permanently associated with the word although when we speak the meaning may depend on those correlations into which the word enters with other elements of speech and pronunciation, depending on dialect and accent; but the idea...is that primary inner image which has associated a given divisible sound with a given object. But this image is often lost and...may be completely different in different individuals...The word itself is really the embodiment of an idea and...the word, even every divisible sound, gives birth to an idea, but an autonomous idea...which arises in the head of a listener in direct connection with the outwardly directed orientation reflex...it is clear how little we can rely on verbal transmission if we want thereby to study accurately the inner world of another person. 50

Pudovkin, who never refers to Pavlov or to Bekhterev for theoretical support, never makes the claim that the complexity of spectatorship can be reduced to a mechanistic physiological or 'trans-sense' activity even where he resorts in practice to certain expedient physiological effects. Rotha exaggerates, I think, the influence of Pavlov's specific findings on the generality of Pudovkin's work: "...the key to Pudovkin's direction lay plainly in The Mechanics of the Brain, for it gave an exposition of the methods which he employs for the selection of his visual images, based on an understanding of the working of the human mind".[51] Pudovkin certainly apprehended the efficacy of logical syntax for the purposes of a particular theme, but elsewhere chose to select and order his material otherwise.

While Bekhterev acknowledges his consideration of Potebnia's thinking on language, Russian poets and linguists in turn looked to scientists, such as Wundt and Helmholtz, for objective corroboration of their experiments with sounds and

and forms:[52] the formalist faction questioned whether words and language were necessary to the processes of thought; utilitarians, following the didactic tradition in Russian letters, discussed the consequences for social and educational policy. For Plekhanov, as for Maiakovskii thereafter, the quest for "pure beauty" was not only socially reprehensible, it was also philosophically a false trail:

> He who worships "pure beauty" does not thereby become independent of biological and historical social conditions which determine his aesthetic taste; he only more or less consciously closes his eyes to these conditions.
>
> ...it can be said with certainty that every more or less gifted artist will increase his power substantially if he absorbs the great emancipatory ideas of our time. Only these ideas must become part of his flesh and blood and he must express them precisely as an artist. [53]

All were implicated in a rancorous philosophical debate around the relationship of things and forms in the world to their representation. Plekhanov, writing in 1899, introduced the basic parameters of the discussion:

> ...space and time are forms of consciousness...the whole question is whether certain forms or relations of <u>things</u> correspond to these forms of consciousness...it goes without saying that materialists can give only an affirmative answer to this question...Our representations of the forms and relations of things are no more than <u>hieroglyphics</u>, the latter designate exactly these forms and relations and this is enough for us to be able to study how the things-in-themselves affect us, and in our turn, to exert an influence on them. I repeat: if no correct correspondence existed between objective relations and their subjective representations ("translations") in our minds, our very existence would become impossible. [54]

Plekhanov, the father of Russian Marxism, admitted to having drawn the term 'hieroglyph' from Sechenov, even while continuing to bicker over its precise meaning.[55] (see chapter three, above). But the father of Russian physiology had been unable to determine scientifically whether sensations are

actual copies, reflections of objects and processes in nature, or only symbols that merely give us information about what takes place in nature. David Joravsky concludes:

> Helmholtz and Sechenov used the metaphor of symbols or hieroglyphs to suggest the way that psychic entities such as sensations, perceptions and representations correspond to physical objects. Their purpose was not to indulge in philosophy, certainly not in metaphysical theorising, but to make neurophysiology a rigorously physical science by the systematic exclusion of psychic processes- these were asigned to psychology- philosophers were left to worry about the ontological implications of research strategies. Plekhanov was willing to regard these distinctions...as consistent with a Marxist understanding of materialism; Lenin was not and attacked Helmholtz for 'physiological idealism'. 56

Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism (1908) asserted categorically his copy-theory of mind and accused Plekhanov of deviation from correct principles. Plekhanov had responded to Bogdanov's criticisms by calling him a Machist (ie. a fiendish subjective idealist);[57] Lenin in turn says that Plekhanov's thesis that "consciousness is an internal state of matter" is equivalent to the stance of Mach and Avenarius, "that every mental process is a function of the cerebral process".[58]

It is to this fraught and heady atmosphere that the use of the term 'hieroglyph' in 1920's Soviet polemics of film and photography should, I think, be referred. Certainly, the term was used outside of Russia in relation to film, notably by Gance in an article of 1926: "..we have come back to the level of expression of the Egyptians...Pictorial language has not yet matured because our eyes have not yet adjusted to it. There is as yet insufficient respect for, insufficient cult of, what it expresses".[59] Polianov wrote of 'Sound Gestures' in the Japanese language and Khlebnikov of

'The self-valuable word'; Eisenstein, fascinated by the forms of Japanese language, spoken and written, used the term 'hieroglyph' to denote a self-sufficient single figure in which a number of ideas are concisely put together.[60]

"Theories of metaphor", says Trevor Whittock, "are closely related to theories of imagination and to the processes and structures imagination employs- the study of metaphor leads off in one direction towards cognitive psychology (interest in the mental processes underlying perception and mental categorisation) in another towards rhetoric and strategies of communication".[61] Pudovkin's poetry investigates the cinematic potential of both rhetoric and psychology. Film-making is not, for Pudovkin, an objectively definable exact science. Cinema is made in the mind of the spectator, but 'mind' for Pudovkin is neither wholly an objective nor wholly a subjective entity (neither, indeed, was it ultimately an entirely resolved issue for Pavlov). (see chapter three, above) Pudovkin acknowledges simply that 'mind' implicates cognitive and emotional and interpretative faculties and acknowledges the assumption that there exist commonly shared characteristics therein in his audience. To the extent that his audience in the 1920's did respond in accordance with his intentions (as popular and critical if not political reaction testifies) I find it hard to accept Rotha's evaluation that "His films contain more study, more deliberation, more calculation, more esoteric intellectuality than those of Eisenstein".[62] Pudovkin never becomes entirely formalist: recognition of an object in the image is always an active element. Pudovkin uses expedient means to limit

the degree of error, of slippage, between what he seeks to convey of his own appreciation of reality and the understanding of the spectator; he proclaims and manifests openly the intentionality of which Dart accuses him- this is his commanding objective. Yet he also acknowledges that the extent to which such means may be determined are themselves subject to limits which each film needs must negotiate anew with its audience on its own terms.

1. André Bazin, What is Cinema?, trans.Gray, (Berkeley: 1967) 24.

2. ibid., 12.

3. ibid., 35.

4. ibid., 29 & What is Cinema? II 21.

5. Gray II, 16.

6. Tatiana Zapasnik and Adi Petrovich, Slovo o Pudovkine (Moscow: 1968) 3; see also Mark Zak, Rasskaz o Pudovkine (Moscow: 1970) for an appraisal by Aristaro and a meeting with de Sica. Pudovkin's work seems to have been more thoroughly appreciated in Italy than anywhere else: Barbaro has edited a volume partly devoted to Golovnia and is responsible for the translation of Golovnia's mémoires, also a collection of commentaries including those of Croce and della Volpe (see chapter seven, above).

7. Gray II, 19 & Bazin, Qu'est-ce-que le Cinéma? (Paris: 1962), IV 14 & I 136: "une tendance qu'on peut appeler grossièrement, le réalisme noir ou réalisme poétique, dominé par quatre noms: Feyder, Renoir, Carné et Duvivier".

8. J.A.Cuddon, Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms (Harmondsworth: 1992) 725: "'poetischer realismus', coined by Friedrich Schelling in 1802...denoting narrative poetry of a plain and realistic kind, traditionalist in attitude and moral and humane in tone and feeling".

9. V.V.Maiakovskii, How are Verses Made? trans.G.M.Hyde, (Bristol: 1990) 49.

10. ibid., 50.

11. ibid.,

12. Victor Erlich, Russian Formalism (The Hague: 1965) 48.

13. V.I.Pudovkin, 'St.Petersburg-Petrograd-Leningrad', Sovetskoe Kino 2 1927.

14. A.Golovnia, La Luce nell'arte dell'operatore (Rome: 1951) 258.

15. FT,

16. qu.Erlich, op.cit., 176.

17. FT,

18. 'Kino i Shkhmaty', Sovetskoe Kino 1 1926 3.

19. FT,

20. FT, 85.

21. conversation between Rostovtsev and Pudovkin, quoted in Peter Dart, Pudovkin's Films and Film Theory (New York: 1974) 59.

22. Trevor Whittock, Metaphor and Film (Cambridge: 1990) 19 draws his categories from Christine Brooke-Rose, A Grammar of Metaphor.

23. FT, 30; see 100-102 for Way Down East.

24. Pasolini, 'A poetry of cinema', Bill Nichols, ed. Movies and Methods (Berkeley: 1985)

25. see Noël Burch, 'Film's Institutional Mode and the Soviet Response', October 11 (1979) 77-96; Vance Kepley Jr., 'Pudovkin and the Continuity Style: Problems of Space and Narration', Discourse 17.3 (1995) 85-100.

26. SME I, 194; see also Tsivian in Eisenstein Re-discovered,

27. FT, 89.

28. this sequence exists in full only in the 1928 original

29. see Ernest Lindgren, The Art of the Film (London: 1950) 81-85.

30. Rudolph Arnheim, Film as Art (London: 1958) 81.

31. Viktor Shklovskii, 'Poetry and Prose', The Poetics of Cinema, trans.Richard Taylor (Oxford: 1982) 88.

32. SME I, 102.

33. Jean and Luda Schnitzer, Poudovkine (Paris: 1966) 129.

34. SME I, 177.

35. FT, 63; also 54, re transformation from spectator into active observer: "Henceforward the camera, controlled by the director, could not merely enable the spectator to see the object shot, but could induce him to apprehend it".

36. FT, 34.

37. Boris Eikhenbaum, 'Cinema Stylistics', Russian Formalist Film Theory, trans.Eagle (Michigan: 1981)

38. FT,

39. Vlada Petric, 'Soviet Revolutionary Films in the U.S.A', Ph.D. thesis, New York U, 1973, 95.

40. FT, 37.

41. Eikhenbaum, op.cit.,

42. 'Kino i Shakhmaty', Sovetskoe Kino 1 1926 3, gives Shipkovskii as scenarist and co-director; Denise Youngblood, Movies for the Masses (Cambridge: 1992) 216 suspects that Chess Fever is in large part his work.

43. Dart, op.cit., 110.

44. Maya Turovskaya, Tarkovsky (London: 1989) 101.

45. Maiakovskii, op.cit., 44.

46. ibid., 45.

47. FT, 7 & 38.

48. Winifred Ellermann (Bryher), Film Problems of Soviet Russia (Territet: 1929) 46 and 'Six Russian Films', Close Up, 3/4 (1928) 30.

49. Eikhenbaum, op.cit., 62; see also Paul Willemen, 'Reflections on Eikhenbaum's Concept of Internal Speech in the Cinema', Screen 15.4 59-70 and Looks and Frictions.

50. V.M.Bekhterev, General Principles of Human Reflexology, trans.Murphy (London: 1933) 55.

51. Paul Rotha, The Film till Now (London: 1951) 234.

52. Wundt's Psychologie und Wirtschaftsleben appeared in Russian translation in 1914 and proved especially influential; for the influence of Husserl's phenomenology in an anti-psychologist intellectual climate (especially the Logische Untersuchungen, 1913-21), see Erlich, op.cit., 61.

53. G.Plekhanov, Art and Social Life, 1912, trans.Fineberg (London: n.d.) 27 & 68; for Lunacharski's more conciliatory approach, see 70-71.

54. G.Plekhanov, Selected Philosophical Works II, trans. Katzer (Moscow: 1976) 419.

55. ibid., 'Materialismus Militans', 226.

56. David Joravsky, Russian Psychology (Oxford: 1989) 101.

57. 'Materialismus Militans', 229.

58. V.I.Lenin, Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, 1908 (London: 1952) 81.

59. Abel Gance, 'Le Temps de l'image est venu', L'Art Cinématographique 2 (1927) 94, famously cited by Benjamin, The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction.

60. Erlich, op.cit., 73; SME I, 164:"As in Japanese hieroglyphics in which two independent ideographic characters... are juxtaposed and explode into a concept".

61. Whittock, op.cit., 3.

62. Rotha, op.cit., 233.

## 9. The Eisenstein/Pudovkin Controversy

Léon Moussinac, surveying the Soviet scene in situ in 1928, famously drew a comparison between Eisenstein and Pudovkin: "A film by Eisenstein resembles a shout; a film by Pudovkin evokes a song".[1] The intention here is to investigate any distinct principles underpinning their evident stylistic differences and their reputed 'feud' (see chapter two, above); to enquire whether Pudovkin's pronouncements on theoretical issues amount to an independent theoretical stance; to examine what was required of theories of film-making and film reception in the context of the scientistic climate in which their own writings were produced.

However, this task can be undertaken only with caution. To match the literary output of Eisenstein with that of Pudovkin is hardly to compare quantitatively like with like. In 1962, writing in the foreword to Nizhny's memoir , Ivor Montagu speaks of the available published work of Eisenstein as "an iceberg-above-water fragment of the whole he left behind"; in 1993, confessing his own far from complete knowledge of Eisenstein's writings, David Bordwell refers to the entire oeuvre as "a baggy monster".[2] The six published volumes alone of the Selected Works (1964-71) run to more than five hundred pages apiece. Against this, we have Pudovkin's 'basic primers' (The Film Scenario and The Film Director and Film Material and the later The Actor in Film) together with the various and sporadic articles and lectures concerned with these themes and with specific films, originally published in journals and some collected in the Russian anthologies. Even the best-known of these works are not necessarily (nor even intentionally) theoretically well-

considered; much of this material is anecdotal. It seems worth repeating the suggestion made in an earlier chapter, that this paucity is a measure of Pudovkin's reluctance to commit himself to paper, especially in a politically harsh and unpredictable climate. There is in Eisenstein a marked tendency, an impetus, an enthusiasm for theorising per se (even if the results are not always wholly satisfying as theory). Pudovkin seemed increasingly simply to lack the stomach for it. And all too readily he is prepared to consign the work of a film to the fate of its maker:

> Everything said here regarding simple methods of taking shots has certainly only information value. What particular method of shooting is to be used, only his own taste and his own finer feelings can tell the scenarist. Here are no rules; the field for new invention and combination is wide. 3

Pudovkin and Eisenstein devoted themselves in the 1920's to the furtherance of the revolutionary cause. Pudovkin, before Eisenstein, became a member of the Communist Party and stood as a Party candidate.[4] They share the Marxist belief that experience may be rationally directed by means of theory, but both defend themselves against its fossilisation into dogma; indeed, the zeal which Eisenstein invests in his theoretical work actively resists such a fate. They dedicated their film-making talents to propagandistic and consciousness-raising subject matter (the work, Lenin said, of professional agitators) and sought, although by different means, to address a wide and popular audience; their writing, similarly, is directed towards utilitarian ends. "The purpose of this study", says Pudovkin of The Film Scenario, "is to communicate what is, it is true, a very elementary knowledge of the basic principles of directorial work".[5] Both were concerned with the training of personnel

between them, but Pudovkin nevertheless admired Eisenstein enormously. In the 1920's he acknowledged that watching Battleship Potemkin had been an inspiration and even in the late 1940's still proclaimed it to be one of the greatest silent films (see chapter eight, above).[10] In turn, Eisenstein, in 1928, praised End of St.Petersburg as "the first epic from an individual psychological theme of the past... A hit in every way".[11]

Although Lenin's pronouncement sanctioned theory-writing as a worthwhile endeavour, Pudovkin locates his own contribution within narrow limits. He accepts his place in the struggle as the given condition of his film-making activity but does not take issue with, nor interrogate the necessity of, this circumstance: nor does he establish this as a theoretical prerequisite for his own film writing. Whereas Eisenstein perpetually cites Marx, Plekhanov and Lenin (and, furthermore, the precursors in a materialist intellectual and scientific tradition in which Marxism was founded) there is in Pudovkin no evidence of a close familiarity with these sources. Indeed, even the term 'dialectic' is a license taken by the English translation of Film Technique, not present in the 1926 originals.[12] Eisenstein's citations seem to serve as an appeal to a readership equally erudite and politicised, aware of the skill with which the intellectual 'tour de force' has been accomplished; simultaneously their unimpeachability lends weight and support to his arguments. They contribute to the ranks of great names against which Eisenstein pits himself and to which he is intent upon proving himself a good match (as Jacques Aumont observes), if not their master.[13] In spite

of the esteem in which Pudovkin was held as a practitioner he never seems to have sought to present himself as a philosopher or 'grand savant'. Pudovkin, referring in public somewhat scathingly to the "galaxy" of star names with which an Eisenstein paper was littered, may well have been, with some justification, intimidated and overawed by the scope of the master's enterprise.[14] It may also be worth suggesting that, although not entirely exempt from official criticism himself, Pudovkin's more modest intellectual ambition rendered him of more immediate service as a Soviet cultural delegate after the Great Break. Nevertheless, while Eisenstein, like Pudovkin, is keen to foster that area of practice which ultimately lies beyond the capacity of scientistic theorising or regulation, Pudovkin's romantic position was one which he was also prepared to defend politically: film production plans must be "carried out by living people as a free development of creative individuality and not as the execution of an order or commission".[15]

The writings of the early 1920's of Pudovkin and Eisenstein are based upon the observation of imported films and on reports of films which had yet to be released. Consistently they seek to distance themselves from any of the theatrical practices associated with the pre-revolutionary 'film d'art' movement. Pudovkin mentions films on which he served his apprenticeship with Vladimir Gardin (Locksmith and Chancellor and Hammer and Sickle, which uses parallel cutting to heighten dramatic tension towards its end), but he makes no significant claim that the work of this old-school director extended any great influence upon him and instead reserves public acknowledgement for Kuleshov.* Eis-

enstein later contrived analyses of his own films to illustrate conscious devices and constructs. Sometimes this serves to give the impression that, in retrospect, Eisenstein was in the artistic vanguard of correct thinking. Eisenstein acknowledges the success of American stunt films with audiences and the supremacy of Chaplin. Pudovkin credited the Americans with the vitalisation of the camera: "It acquired the faculty of movement on its own, and transformed itself from a spectator to an active observer. Henceforward the camera, controlled by the director, could not merely enable the spectator to see the object shot, but could induce him to apprehend it". [16] Pudovkin similarly praises Chaplin, as much as director as performer. Pudovkin and Eisenstein draw their students' attention to popular American cinema (for instance Tol'Able David, Daddy, Saturday Night and Woman of Paris) even though Eisenstein, in particular, was dismissive of their romantic and politically incorrect content.[17] Eisenstein complains that Pudovkin is unduly attached to the example of Griffith; certainly Pudovkin finds in Griffith a combination of "the inner dramatic content of the action and a masterly employment of external effort (dynamic tension)", but concedes that Griffith is far from infallible- only the last part of Intolerance is considered worthy, its "ponderousness and tiredness effaced its effect for the most part".[18] Eisenstein also accuses Pudovkin of continuing unthinkingly in the footsteps of his erstwhile teacher, although Pudov-

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*Gardin argued that editing was not supposed to suppress the psychological style of pre-revolutionary cinema; ironically Pudovkin returned to a similar position, in his practice and his writing, by the end of the 1920's. (see chapter five)

kin himself does not find Kuleshov's films entirely beyond reproach.[19] Eisenstein considered that it was not sufficient to progress by piecemeal adjustments in practice and criticises Pudovkin for failing to advance theoretically Kuleshov's concept of montage- by 1929, he says, "thoroughly outmoded".[20] It could be suggested that Pudovkin's primer contents itself with the codification of current practice, seeking to extract from it a number of cogent principles which it is assumed to contain. Pudovkin's project, it could be suggested, grounds itself conservatively in the normative acceptance of practical conventions; a film is, for instance, assumed to be a certain length, consisting of a given number of reels projected at a given speed. (see chapter six, above) While never proscriptive ("Here are no rules; the field for new invention and combination is wide"), Pudovkin rarely risks a definite comprehensive hypothesis beyond the limits of individual experiments.

Both Pudovkin and Eisenstein defended film's artistic status. Pudovkin rejected Vertov's denunciation of film as art; Eisenstein accused him of making mischief in his manifestos against art.[21] Eisenstein and Pudovkin, along with Kuleshov, Timoshenko, Eikhenbaum and others, agreed that montage was the specific property by which film art was to be defined, governed and evaluated: "editing is the basic creative force", says Pudovkin, at the opening of Film Technique, "the foundation of film art".[22] "Because of its methodology, shot and montage are the basic elements of film...To determine the essence of montage is to solve the problem of film as such", says Eisenstein, in 1929.[23] For both, art is inextricably bound to craft. But Eisenstein

often judged the methods employed by Pudovkin and found his art wanting:

> What then characterises montage and, consequently, its embryo, the shot? Collision. Conflict between two neighbouring fragments. Conflict. Collision.
> Before me lies a crumpled yellowing sheet of paper.
> On it there is a mysterious note:
> 'Series-P' and 'Collision-E'.
> This is a material trace of the heated battle on the subject of montage between E (myself) and P (Pudovkin) six months ago.
> We have already got into a habit: at regular intervals he comes to see me late at night and, behind closed doors, we wrangle over matters of principle.
> So it is in this instance. A graduate of the Kuleshov school, he zealously defends the concept of montage as a series of fragments. In a chain.
> 'Bricks'. Bricks that expound an idea serially.
> I oppposed him with my view of montage as a collision, my view that the collision of two factors gives rise to an idea.
> In my view a series is merely one possible particular case.
> Remember that physics is aware of an infinite number of combinations arising from the impact (collision) between spheres. Depending on whether they are elastic, non-elastic or a mixture of the two.
> Among these combinations is one where the collision is reduced to a uniform movement of both in the same direction.
> That corresponds to Pudovkin's view.
> Not long ago we had another discussion. Now he holds the view that I held then. In the meantime he has of course had the chance to familiarise him himself with the set of lectures that I have given at the GTK since then.
> So, montage is conflict. 24

It does not suit Eisenstein's purpose here to mention the number of possible exceptions in Pudovkin's practice from the stance in which Eisenstein represents him- for instance, where movement initiated in one shot is not continued into the next (during the prison escape in The End of St.Petersburg) or where an image is ironically paired with a title (heralding the infant lama in Storm over Asia). This is to say, even before his feud with Eisenstein in 1929 and his supposed change of heart (supposed, this is, by 'E' and not confirmed explicitly by 'P') Pudovkin's work is not entirely

consistent nor commensurate. Significantly enough, Eisenstein does not re-examine the primers for contradictions in this stance nor does he identify past points of contact between Pudovkin and himself. For instance, although Eisenstein later retracts, both he and Pudovkin had used the analogy of a shot performing in sequence as a word serves in a sentence.[25]

Eisenstein's notion of montage as conflict applies to film a principle derived from and extensible elsewhere: Eisenstein thereby appropriates for his theoretical position a measure of ideological credibility and approval:

> In the realm of art this dialectical principle of the dynamic is embodied in
> CONFLICT
> as the essential basic principle of the existence of every work of art and every form.
> FOR ART IS ALWAYS CONFLICT:
> 1. because of its social mission
> 2. because of its nature
> 3. because of its methodology. [26]

Eisenstein considers conflict not only as a mode of construction between separate shots and the overall structure of a film but also as an antagonistic mode of address to the spectator: "In our conception a work of art...is first and foremost a tractor ploughing over the audience's psyche in a particular class context".[27] One is reminded of Bukharin's declaration of intent with regard to the intelligentsia, "ideologically conditioned in a definite way. Yes, we will put our stamp on intellectuals, we will work them over as in a factory".[28] In 'The Montage of Film Attractions', Eisenstein advocates that the audience be subjected to "a series of blows to the consciousness and emotions". He here invokes Pavlov: "The method of agitation through spectacle consists in the creation of a new chain of conditioned reflexes by

associating selected phenomena with the unconditioned reflexes they produce".[29] For Eisenstein, the ordering of images does not of necessity correspond to a logical exposition of a pre-ordained plot pre-existent in the director's imagination nor should it correspond to a latent expectation in the viewer.

By contrast, Pudovkin is altogether more mild and amenable, more temperate and conciliatory and foregoes the model offered by physiology. He speaks of the "psychological guidance" of the spectator. Already in his account of the making of Mechanics of the Brain Pudovkin presumes that the spectator's interest in a simple narrative or exposition will naturally follow a given course (natural, that is, in the sense of the observation of a comparable everyday event) and that it is to this potential, intentional view of an imaginary ideal observer that, as a rule of thumb, the editing plan should correspond.[30] For the most part, Pudovkin suggests, the director concedes to and complies with the presumed expectation and does not seek to disrupt it; montage is a means of easing its course by the elimination of superfluous detail and "insignificances that fulfill only a transitional function":

> Imagine yourself observing a scene unfolded in front of you, thus: a man stands near the wall of a house and turns his head to the left; there appears another man slinking cautiously through the gate. The two are fairly widely distant from one another- they stop. The first takes some object and shows it to the other, mocking him. The latter clenches his fists in a rage and throws himself at the former. At this moment a woman looks out of a window on the third floor and calls, "Police!" The antagonists run off in opposite directions. Now, how would this have been observed?
>
> 1. The observer looks at the first man. He

turns his head.
2. What is he looking at? The observer turns his glance in the same direction and sees the man entering the gate. The latter stops.
3. How does the first react to the appearance on the scene of the second? A new turn by the observer; the first takes out an object and mocks the second.
4. How does the second react? Another turn; he clenches his fists and throws himself on his opponent.
5. The observer draws aside to watch how both opponents roll about fighting.
6. A shout from above. The observer raises his head and sees the woman shouting at the window.
7. The observer lowers his head and sees the result of the warning- the antagonists running off in opposite directions...Here we have approached closely the basic significance of editing. Its object is the showing of the development of the scene in relief, as it were, by guiding the attention of the spectator now to one, now to the other separate element. 31

As with Kuleshov, it is important not only that the episode is broken down for the sufficient assembly of a logical sequence but also that this sequence can be adequately constructed from individual, independent bits shot in isolation; economical construction is advocated, the minimum (in terms of number of shots) is promoted as the optimum. Also like Kuleshov, it seems significant that the example locates an external observer, apportioning his interest between active antagonists.[32] Elsewhere, Pudovkin suggests that the camera may also be located in the scene subjectively, to considerable effect, to identify one or another protagonist's point of view. The montage is again dependent upon narrative logic and diegetic contiguity.

Pudovkin sometimes speaks of montage as a more positively interventionist and constructive procedure, obliging the specator to become "the ideal perspicuous observer": these methods he summarily lists as contrast, parallel, symbolic, simultaneous or reiterative montage.[33] Pudovkin

here asserts that it is incumbent upon the director, in his selection of shots and their assembly, their subject matter and manner of cutting, to construct a non-naturalistic reality, "not as everyone sees it"; montage specifically enables the bringing together of elements which are not of necessity spatially or temporally contiguous:

> The lens of the camera is the eye of the spectator He sees and remarks only that which the director desires to show him, or, more correctly put, that which the director himself sees in the action concerned. 34

> One must learn to understand that editing is in actual fact a compulsory and deliberate guidance of the thoughts and associations of the spectator. ...If the editing be co-ordinated according to a definitely selected course of events or conceptual line, either agitated or calm, it will either excite or soothe the spectator. 35

But even where the content of a shot is not unambiguously predicated by the content of its precursor, Pudovkin seems to suggest that there is a thematic or formal movement, a definite motivation for transferral of attention and that this impetus effects the serial connection which Eisenstein seeks to shatter and replace with collision.

> Contrast- Suppose it be our task to tell of the miserable situation of a starving man; the story will impress the more vividly if associated with mention of the senseless gluttony of a well-to-do man...On the screen the impression of this contrast is yet increased, for it is possible not only to relate the starving sequence to the gluttony sequence, but also to relate scenes and even separate shots of the scenes to one another, thus ...forcing the spectator to compare the two actions...one strengthening the other...

In Pudovkin's example of contrast, the idea of poverty is connotated in the first series of shots; the second series exaggerates the first connotation, throws it into relief, but nothing new is posited, no new idea is produced spontaneously by the juxtaposition; the juxtaposition is not theoretically presented as a union of opposites, it is not

deemed to effect a synthesis of thesis with antithesis.

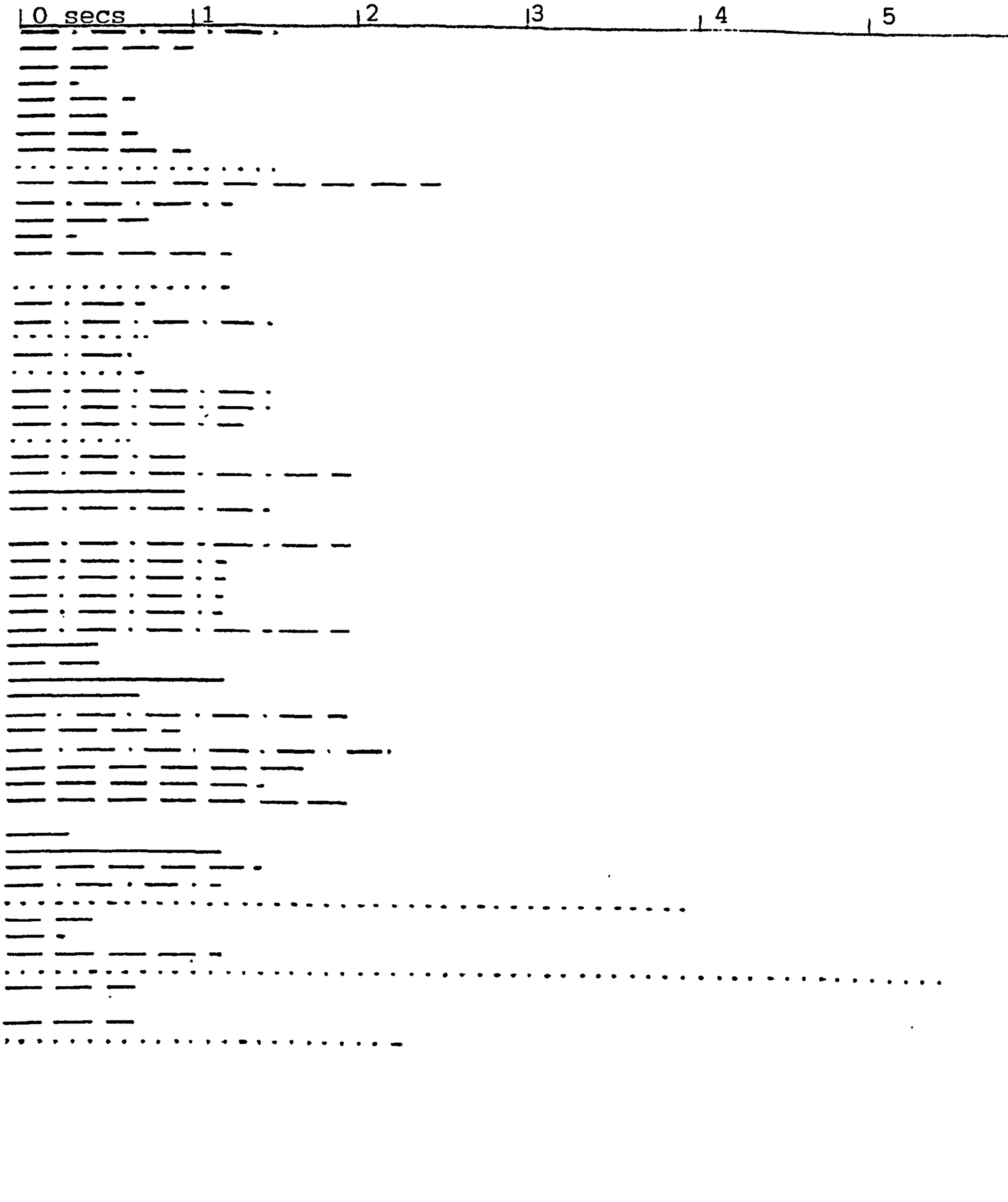
Certainly, even though the experience of watching a Pudovkin film can prove conspicuously physically bombarding (Eisenstein's example of perfect metric montage, the patriotic parade in The End of St.Petersburg) Pudovkin urges constraint upon the director and is anxious that film-watching is an aesthetically pleasing and constrained activity- the film should not be inordinately long; tensions should be balanced such that the spectator is not exhausted before the thematic climax; undue use of certain technical devices (irises and shutters) should be judiciously avoided for fear of trying the viewer; Pudovkin advocates novelty as a phatic element, reviving and retaining attention rather than forcibly shocking or "ploughing over the psyche": "the spectator should be preserved for maximum tension at the end".[36]

In the same year of the reputed feud, Eisenstein wrote:

> According to Kuleshov's definition (which Pudovkin also shares as a theorist) montage is the means of unrolling an idea through single shots (the 'epic' principle).
> But in my view montage is not an idea composed of successive shots stuck together but an idea that DERIVES from the collision between two shots that are independent of one another (the 'dramatic' principle). [37]

Neither in principle nor by method does Pudovkin allow of shots which are independent: "In this preliminary paper-work must be created that style, that unity, which conditions the value of any work of art".[38] Pudovkin is never indifferent to the pro-filmic event which the shot preserves and there is always intentionality in the selection of material and of the shot: the film shown to the audience

Shots 174-229




..... wide shot

—·—·— mid shot

— — — – mid close-up

———— close-up

corresponds to the idea of the film from which the editing plan is drawn and the film staged and shot. When Pudovkin speaks of editing as creative he speaks as much of the painstaking initial analysis into basic units (camera angles) as the later synthesis of the whole. Eisenstein implies in his writing in the period 1922-1925 that the film is not known before the final process, that the film as material art object and as idea does not exist until it reaches the editing table; by the 1930's his teaching implies that the initial process is equally significant. Pudovkin sticks firmly throughout to his triadic principle, which suited well his practice and his ideal of film-making as a collaborative venture, one in which all participants fully comprehend the needs and tasks of their colleagues. For Pudovkin, the creative work lies as much with the scen-arist and the director of the mise-en-scène, holding the established idea of the film in their heads as they proceed, as it does with the editor. Through this series of montage processes the film is rigorously built, but the idea of the film is conceived beforehand.

Pudovkin's pronounced position with regard to montage changes with time. In the early 1930's he obligingly en-dorses official censure of a past preoccupation with montage. Although he is, as ever, disappointingly imprecise in his terminology, in this instance he may be understood to mean the fast cutting for which Soviet silent cinema was known abroad (Eisenstein averages less than 1.7 seconds per shot, Pudovkin 2.5 seconds, Dovzhenko 3.5-4.5 seconds and Holly-wood 5-6 seconds, says Bordwell).[39] He intends also to identify a film-making practice in which the editing process

takes creative precedence over all else, or, yet worse, a purely formal and autonomous exercise which disregards the representational content of the image. Pudovkin's procedural principle allowed him to adapt relatively comfortably to the new emphasis on the actor's performance, a position at which he had arrived, he maintains, through his work with artists from the Moscow Art Theatre. Indeed, Eisenstein coincidentally corroborates Pudovkin's claim by saying that in 1924-25 (that is, even in the silent period) there was a prevailing trend "that living man could only be shown in film in long dramatic scenes. And that cutting (montage) would destroy the idea of real man".[40] (see chapter five, above) In Film Acting Pudovkin is keen to stress that film preserves the real time in which an actor's performance was delivered before the camera; he emphasises that the actor's performance engages a fully psychologised "real lived experience", a commodity which Eisenstein was wont to despise. "The discontinuity of the actor's work", says Pudovkin, "must never be ignored but always treated as a difficulty to be overcome".[41] The ideological shift of the 1930's towards individual consciousness and effort, a turn away from the earlier determinism for which Pavlov had seemingly lent support, met with official directives for films with naturalistic characters and linear plot development.

At this time, Pudovkin urges Ivor Montagu not to republish the 'basic primers' in the absence of an apologia accounting for the milieu in which they had been written (see chapter two, above). 'Types instead of Actors' proves embarrassingly incompatible with the tenets of 'The Actor in Film'; Pudovkin now wishes to stress that editing is the

foundation of film art but that film art is not constituted by montage alone.[42] By the 1940's, Pudovkin is making cursory additional references to "dialectical thinking" and appears to have extended the connections which he finds acceptable in principle to include those which he had himself effected in practice (thereby resolving some of the earlier anomolies); but essentially he repeats the examples of correct logical construction given previously:

> A myriad of methods of connection may exist between the highly ideophilosophical connection and the externally-formal connection, but all of them must be present in the shots being joined in order that montage create an action on screen which develops without interruption, is understandable and is completely meaningful. Two shots cannot be joined together if one of them in some manner or aspect does not continue the other. This of course must be understood to include the widest range of possible forms of connection including sharp contrast or contradiction, which are sometimes the best ways of joining two or more shots in a continuous development of a single idea. 43

Essentially, this is mere tinkering. One has little sense of Pudovkin's engagement with theoretical issues consolidating or developing with time, with changing technical opportunities or with the vicissitudes of the political climate. Here, I think, is where the real difference with Eisenstein lies. Pudovkin logs his sound experiments on A Simple Case and Deserter but there is nothing comparable to the thoroughness of Eisenstein's commentary on Nevsky. For Eisenstein, montage serves as a 'fulcrum of analysis' much as the reflex serves Bekhterev and Pavlov. It is his consistent attachment to montage as a theoretical key (to art, to nature, to social progress) which bestows upon his writing the considerable coherence it commands over its vast surface. Montage provides the hypothesis in which Eisenstein sets out to prove an equivalence between film-

making and viewing; variation in one function is matched with a corresponding reformulation in the other. For Eisenstein, theorisising is the means of perceiving reality more closely, more astutely, more correctly. Pudovkin presents a number of worked examples rather than an attempt at theory. Pudovkin's classifications are fuzzy (albeit not as unsatisfactory as some critics, to suit their own agenda, have suggested) and his thinking sadly vague;* Eisenstein's categorisation and recategorisation and cross-referencing has real intellectual status and force even where it tends towards pedantry. Sometimes the structure in place allows him to accommodate, integrate and exploit new technologies of production: undaunted by the advent of sound and in spite of the well-founded fears of the 1928 manifesto, Eisenstein's 'The Fourth Dimension in Cinema' develops ideas expounded in 1924. He recognises crucially that in sound cinema the focus of attention reverts centripetally into the shot rather than concentrating on the connections between them. The theory develops towards collision within the shot (hidden editing) such that in his discussion of Crime and Punishment with Nizhny he argues for a method hitherto considered 'unfilmic'.[44] Montage provides the means whereby Eisenstein reconciles himself theoretically to the official revival of Stanislavski and the methods of the Moscow Art Theatre (my erstwhile "deadly enemy").[45]

Certainly these shifts and turns were opportune (Eisenstein

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*for instance, see Rudolph Arnheim Film as Art (London:1958) 82 and fn.33 above; it seems clear to me that Pudovkin refers to events simultaneous in the course of the dramatic action in the class 'parallelism' and not simply to a method of cutting insufficiently distinct from 'contrast'. Arnheim cursorily summarises Pudovkin and Timoshenko before volunteering his own new, improved schema.

had often openly declared his hostility to naturalistic performance and psychologism hitherto) but there is more at stake than personal vindication, I think.

Amongst the "galaxy of stars" referred to by Eisenstein there are numerous eminent scientists. He is familiar with contemporary research and its historical and theoretical context; he apprehends Marxism, too, as a science which, as such, can be dismantled to discover fundamental laws of matter beyond the confines of the discipline. Eisenstein seemingly appreciates the full force of J.B.S.Haldane's definition of correct methodology: "the dialectical method in science is to push a theory to its logical conclusion and show that it negates itself";[46] this is to say, he appreciates Marxism as science but also recognises what might be required of a science thoroughly informed by Marxism. Marxism as a discipline ("referring to systematic scholarship offering a coherent interpretation of a set of phenomena"), grounds itself as much in natural science and a science of cognition as in philosophy. (see conclusion, below) To Marx and Engels, Darwin's theory of evolution was a vindication of the dialectical process: "to Marx and Engels, Darwin's theory of evolution was an important illustration of the principle of transition of quantity into quality".[47] Lenin reproached Plekhanov for deviating from the materialism of Marx and Engels in positing his notion of the 'hieroglyph'. In Materialism and Empirio-Criticism he asserted the primacy of matter and that this view is scientifically corroborated; "natural science instinctively adheres to the materialist theory of knowledge".[48] But Eis-

enstein's extensive and eclectic reading includes not only scientists working in the approved materialist tradition, but also those often disparaged by later Soviet commentators as idealist or bourgeois (or simply foreign). Freud (whose writings were translated and widely available by this date), was a source of inspiration for Eisenstein's writing in the 1930's and contributed to a teaching syllabus at VGIK which included also Pavlov, William James, Helmholtz and Darwin.[49] The course structure suggests that he found something of use in all of them. Eisenstein was familiar with the early treatises of Bekhterev and often couches his theorising in language redolent of reflexology. This, too, develops with time away from the basic mechanistic model of the early 1920's: in 'Perspectives' (1929), he speaks of:

> A complex of conditioned reflexes grown wise with experience. And the direct passion of conditioned reflexes.
> In the crucible of the dialectic a new fact in construction has been smelted. A new social life has been forged.

Or again:

> There is no way in which we can produce within our ourselves a revision of our perception of the act of 'cognition' as an act with immediate effects. Even though reflexology has adequately demonstrated that the process of cognition means an increase in the quantity of conditional stimulants that provoke an active reflex reaction from a particular subject.
> Which means that, even in the actual mechanics of the process, there is something active and not passive. 50

In 'Beyond the Shot' Eisenstein turns to the psychologist Luria for support for an argument that the close-up affords an exceptional magnification, equivalent to the scale of its significance in the mental image of an event.[51] (see introduction, above) "A new trend in Soviet psychology became discernible by the end of the 1920's", says Loren

Graham, "this stemmed from the realisation that with the defeat of subjectivism and introspection...the greatest danger was now from militant materialists who hoped to swallow up psychology in a purely physiological understanding of mental activity. The defenders of psychology rallied around the concepts of psyche and consciousness".[52] However, it seems to me that David Bordwell over-simplifies the situation and exaggerates his own case when he designates a shift in Eisenstein's epistemology (and hence his theorising) between an early period influenced by Pavlov's mechanism and a later period, in which Pavlov had fallen from official favour, which sought to accommodate the work of Luria's master, Vygotski. Ben Brewster and Trevor Whittock cast doubt on this thesis; Aumont and Taylor argue persuasively for consistency and coherence over shift.[53] In any case, Vygotski likewise did not enjoy official approval and remained unpublished until the 1960's.[54] It seems to me that Eisenstein seeks rather to identify points at which the extant theoretical structure can expand to incorporate the new material, and that, again, this indicates development rather than rupture. Eisenstein engages with potential moments of negation, rather than avoiding or ignoring them.

"Science has its 'ions' its 'electrons' its 'neutrons' Art will have- attractions!", writes Eisenstein in 1945.[55] Pudovkin drew an analogy between the methods of his film practice and the process of calculus, one with which, as a chemist, he was very familiar: "For every event a process has to be carried out comparable to...'differentiation'- that is to say, dissection into parts or elements...there follows...a combination of the discovered separate elements

into a whole- the so-called 'integration'".[56] The process welcomed a re-casting by ideologues (Lenin not least among them) in dialectical mode; Pudovkin does not make this easy manoeuvre.[57] (see chapter one, above) Again, unlike Eisenstein, he does not assert the ideological correctness of his formal practice before applying it to the affirmation of a particular political reality, even though, in the 1930's, he of *necessity* opens lectures by declaring the political allegiance: "We, as Marxists...".[58] *Indeed,* the absence of a conspicuous self-examination may have helped Pudovkin's 'basic primers' to the success which they enjoyed abroad. Lewis Jacobs' appraisal of their reception in the United States is confirmed by Steiner and Hurwitz:

> It did not concern itself with basic dramatic principles common to all the theatrical arts. We made the error of overlooking the fact that Pudovkin was presupposing this base and we considered it a Bible of film principle rather than a series of collected essays on film technique. 59

Even more remarkable, it seems to me, given Eisenstein's patent and fashionable enthusiasms, is the absence in Pudovkin's writing of the 1920's of any acknowledged reference to current scientific research: the 1926 publications, Kino-stsenarii and Kino-rezhisser i Kino-material, appeared without footnotes to support any such attachment. Although Pudovkin occasionally mentions, anecdotally, his work on Mechanics of the Brain, he never seeks to underpin whatever principles of film and cinema he presents by extrapolating from what he evidently understood well, from first principles, of Pavlov's work on higher nervous activity, even though it might have lent considerable ideological buttressing and credibility to his own position. Unfash-

ionably, in an article of 1938, Pudovkin mentions in passing Pavlov's hypothesis of language as a second order function (see chapter three, above), in support of his own thesis of gesture as the primary form of expression. But neither in Mechanics, nor in his writing about this film, nor in his writing about film principles in general does Pudovkin allow himself the holistic indulgence of Eisenstein. Equally, given Pavlov's own resistance to misinterpretation by those who sought to extract political and ideological capital from his work, the comparative reticence of Mechanics and of Pudovkin's account of it thereafter, may well have contributed to Pavlov's own eventual reconciliation to the project. As a constructive model for film and cinema principle, Pudovkin is more concerned with the procedures whereby the experiments are conducted and the proof effected than by the cognitive ramifications of Pavlov's results. Pudovkin states that montage both corresponds normatively to naturally motivated observation and that, as a rhythmic mode, it can serve a conducive auxiliary function (it "soothes or excites") or that its content can function to form an impression (either emotional or intellectual)- but he is far from explicit as to the distinct physiological and psychological bases of his suppositions. He provides his reader with the vaguest and most general of references:

> There is a law in psychology that lays it down that if an emotion give birth to a certain movement, by imitation of this movement the corresponding emotion can be called forth. 60

The urgency with which Eisenstein perpetually wills himself to classify and identify discrete qualitative processes (by 1929, defined as metric, rhythmic, tonal and overtonal montage) was directed towards an ambitious project,

the creation of a cinema in which the distinct elements of his enquiry eventually would be resolved:

> Intellectual cinema will be the cinema that resolves the conflicting combination of physiological overtones and intellectual overtones, creating an unheard of form of cinema which inculcates the Revolution into the general history of culture creating a synthesis of science, art and militant class consciousness. 61

This revised thesis of cinema integrates a re-formulation of the viewer along with a developed, more complex notion of film-making. The utilitarian agenda had required film-makers to examine the reception of their films with a general audience, both in terms of the thematic content, the types and characters represented, and the formal effects employed. The first edition of Sovetskoe Kino includes an article on observation exhorting film personnel to watch audiences assiduously and Eisenstein reports the reception of the Kerensky sequence in October and cites the exacting efforts of the research laboratory for audience psycho-physiology: the construction of the Soviet new man and woman was dependent upon a formulaic quantitative and qualitative appraisal of the base material.[62] Eisenstein, together with many commentators in film journals, very soon discovered that audiences were not homogenous nor consistent in their reactions and that the viewer could not be equated as a tabula rasa on which the film simply operated. The butchering sequence in Strike made no impression upon rural audiences; provincial audiences found it harder to follow fast and complex montage than their metropolitan counterparts, more accustomed to film viewing:

> ...on a worker audience the slaughter did not have a 'bloody' effect for the simple reason that the worker associates a bull's blood above all with the processing plants near a slaughter-house!

> While on a peasant, used to slaughtering his own cattle, there will be no effect at all. 63

Pudovkin's description of 'audience' is more generalised in the primers and this address more generalist. Pudovkin's more compromised attachment to normative conventions, his pursual of less experimental principles, facilitated the general reception of the major early films and consequently eased his transition to the formal conservatism of the 1930's. Pudovkin's characteristic relative taciturnity and caution as an ideologue and theoretician proved politically fortuitous; but this still does not infer that the intellectual gymnastics by which Eisenstein re-articulated his position were politically motivated, even if they were nevertheless advisable.

Soviet doctrine dedicated itself to the improvement of society but recognised that this would be achieved only through the fabrication of the new Soviet citizen, by educating the citizen's awareness of his or her position in Nature, Labour and Society.[64] Pudovkin's appeal for education in film literacy is situated alongside this wider campaign for basic schooling. Cinema was pressed into service as a tool of enormous significance in the pedagogic project. In their films, Eisenstein seems more determined upon didacticism than Pudovkin (the gods and Napoleon sequences in October, for instance). Pudovkin was, indeed, amongst those who, when circumstances required a condemnation, found Eisenstein guilty of pitching his films above the heads of his audiences:

> Ycung Eisenstein produced Strike...filled with mere formal tricks. Instead of showing a serious and important stage in the history of the Russian labour movement, the formalistic freaks of the author led spectators away from real life, con-

> fused and sometimes distorted the link of the film with actual historical reality. 65

Pudovkin speaks of "compulsion", of the director "infallibly leading" the viewer, but thematically Pudovkin's major films re-affirm a known course. He is concerned for and achieves an effectively orchestrated conceptual and emotional appeal to the audience. However, he is less than eloquent theoretically as to how this reaction is articulated in the mind of a viewer. It is for elucidation and support on precisely such issues that Eisenstein turns to Luria and Freud and to classic treatises on aesthetics such as Schopenhauer and Christiansen. Eisenstein is keen to understand the various theories advanced of cognitive and psychological mechanisms and development in order that film may be employed all the better to affect and impress his audience, to manufacture a newly receptive, newly aware audience in the process of film viewing. Here again, Pudovkin's position seems more conservative. He seems rather to accept his film audience as a given, the "literacy" being accomplished preparatory to the viewing. The audience of a Pudovkin film may be roused, inspired to undertake great deeds but Pudovkin does not postulate that the experience of film-viewing <u>itself</u> can effect an organic change in the viewer.

> Engels believed that the unity of theory and practice was connected with the problem of cognition...the most telling evidence against idealistic epistemologies was that man's knowledge of nature resulted in practical benefits, man's theories of matter "worked" in the sense that they yielded products for his use. 66

Theoretical writing aspired to be scientific in its concerns with social utility and also in the methodology which it attempted to espouse. This confidence in the beneficent workings of science was not unique to the Soviet Union, but

it received there a particular impetus, aptly paraphrased by Lenin: "Revolution equals Marxism plus Electrification".[67] Soviet theorising was equally scientific in the inductive model it adopted for itself. It could not afford to entertain any suggestion that its theses were not empirically verifiable.[68] Hence the frequent occurence of syllogisms, intrinsic to theories of a totalising aspect: Eisenstein demonstrates his theses by recourse to constructions which already consciously employ the terms of his proof. The interest and use lies in the process, in the working-out.

Pudovkin is broadly attached to the notion that Marxism is demonstrably socially progressive and adopts this as the major theme or "supra artistic concept" of his films. Marx believed himself to be labouring in accordance with scientific precedence; producers of Marxist theories of art frequently imitated what they understood of a more strictly correct scientific method and perception. Here again, Pudovkin is curiously out of vogue. His early publications neither affect the jargon nor the scientific typography familiar in such as Punin, Meierkhold, Timoshenko and (occasionally) Eisenstein, presenting their theses as tables or mathematical equations or diagrams.(ill.9.ii)[69] He does not assume Eisenstein's somewhat forced pose, employing his own films as an exemplary objective test case for his own hypotheses (for instance, in 'The Dramaturgy of Film Form'). Pudovkin equally lacks Eisenstein's attentive identification of differences. his taxonomy of distinct entities as a means of analysing phenomena clearly and recognising process. He also is less willing to explore, I think, the cinematic relationship between the film and its audience. Pudovkin's

shot

another shot

point of view

detail

t time

a,b,c content of shot

actor

alternate elements

alternate points of view

change of scene

isolation of detail

analytical montage

anticipation of future time (flash forward)

recollection of past time (flash back)

parallel action

contrast

association

expansion

concentration

interruption and restraint

montage within the frame

personalised dramatic montage (the shot shows what is evident to, what is comprehended by the author)

efforts are directed at calculating the product which he delivers in respect of given common sense appraisals of reception. Even where Eisenstein's writing is wildly unsystematic and eclectic, unable to confine itself to the matter of a particular discipline, there is an urge towards rational explanation and the discovery of a rational direction in experience. Not only is Eisenstein fond of locating his own practice and theory metaphysically, he also relishes historical systems which have striven for all-encompassing totality. He cites the pure number ratios of Pythagoras, the visual and acoustic harmonies of the Golden Section and censures Pudovkin for his neglect of such universal truths.

> This sort of work has a very special effect on the person who contemplates it- not only because it raises itself to the level of natural phenomena, but also because the law which governs those who contemplate the work, to the extent that they themselves are part of organic nature- the contemplator feels himself organically bound to a work of this type, united, conmingled with it, exactly as he feels himself united and conmingled with the surrounding organic milieu and with nature. 70

Eisenstein not only recognises the urgency of his political circumstances but also acknowledges an explicit ideological structure as the context within which he works: "these concepts are not tools", observes Jacques Aumont, "they are completely inseparable from the very way in which they are formulated".[71] Pudovkin's basic primers provide a manual which appears of more immediate practical use (he was in his own practice notoriously methodical), and which has predictive power only in as much as his axioms endorse convention and rely on the equilibrium of the viewer with the film. Eisenstein endeavours to provide the foundations of an inclusive theory of cinema which accounts for qualit-

ative transformation; that is to say, a truly revolutionary theory.

1. Léon Moussinac, Le Cinéma Soviétique (Paris: 1927) 161

2. Vladimir Nizhny, Lessons with Eisenstein (London: 1962) xi; David Bordwell, The Cinema of Eisenstein (London: 1993) xiii

3. FT 38

4. Richard Taylor, Film Propaganda (London: 1979) 91

5. FT 2

6. see, for instance, 'Give Us a State Plan' 1927 and 'The Twelfth Year' 1928 in S.M.Eisenstein: Selected Works I, ed.Richard Taylor (London: 1988)

7. ibid.

8. V.I.Lenin, What is to be Done?, trans.Robert Service (Harmondsworth: 1988) 93

9. SME I 177 and SME II 264

10. Peter Dart, Pudovkin's Films and Film Theory (New York 1974)

11. SME I 112

12. IM/B.F.I./SM item

13. Jacques Aumont, Montage Eisenstein, trans. Hildreth, (London: 1987)

14. SOURCE NOT ESTABLISHED

15. Babitsky & Rimberg, The Soviet Film Industry (New York 1955) 316

16. FT

17. for Eisenstein's thoughts on Woman of Paris see SME I and for Pudovkin's original and revised views see FT and FA; for Eisenstein's teaching from Tol'Able David see and for Pudovkin on this, Daddy and Saturday Night (and its "slight content") see FT; see also Vance Kepley Jr. 'Pudovkin and the Classical Hollywood Tradition', Wide Angle 7.3 (1985)

18. FT 8

19. re Mr.West, ibid. 18:"the dynamically saturated earlier reels are easy to look at and grip the spectator with ever-increasinglexcitement. But after the end of the third reel, where the cowboy's adventures came to an unexpected end, the spectator experiences a natural reaction, and the continuation, in spite of the excellent directorial treatment, is watched with much diminished interest"

20. SME I 163

21. ibid. 62

22. FT xv

23. SME I 163

24. ibid. 144

25. FT ; SME I 46 &

26. SME I 161

27. ibid.

28. qu. Sheila Fitzpatrick, Education and Social Mobility, (Cambridge: 1979) 84

29. SME I 45; Eisenstein later suggests that he did not know of Pavlov at this date: see 'How I became a film director' 1945 in SME III 289: "Thus was born the term 'the montage of attractions'. If I had known of Pavlov at that time, I would have called 'the montage of attractions' 'the theory of artistic irritants'."

30. FT ; see also Noel Burch 'Film's Institutional Mode and the Soviet Response' October 11 (1979) 86-87

31,32. FT 40-41; Pudovkin's example corresponds to an 'experiment' of Kuleshov, shown at the Pordenone festival in 1996, in which a man crawls up to a balustrade and is watched by another man.

33. FT 47-50:'Editing as an instrument of Impression'

34. ibid. 64

35. ibid. 45

36. ibid. 46

37. SME I 163

38. FT 4

39. Bordwell op.cit. 46; see also Bryher, Film Problems of Soviet Russia (Territet: 1929) 15 and Barry Salt Film Style and Technology (London: 1992) 172-173 for further comparison

40. SME I 178

41. ibid. 47 & ; FA 26-27; see also the discussion of Mae Marsh's hands in Intolerance (chapter five, above)

42. V.I.Pudovkin, 'Film Acting: two phases' Theatre Workshop 1.1 (1936) 53-67, in which Pudovkin volunteers criticisms of Kuleshov's films and procedures, including the rehearsal of films without film.

43. qu. Dart, op.cit. 163

44. see Nizhny, op.cit. 97 and SME I

45. SME I 74 &

46. J.B.S.Haldane, 'Beyond Darwin' (1939), On Being the Right Size (Oxford: 1985) 135

47. Loren R.Graham, Science and Philosophy in the Soviet Union (London: 1973) 52 & 54

48. V.I.Lenin, Materialism and Empirio-Criticism (1908) (London: 1952) 37

49. see Nizhny, op.cit. 154 and Marie Seton Sergei M.Eisenstein (London: 1952) 483

50. SME I 155; see also 'Overtonal Montage'(1929)

51. ibid 141

52. Graham, op.cit.365; this shift was not peculiar to the U.S.S.R.

53. see Ben Brewster's reply to Bordwell's 'Eisenstein's Epistemological Shift' in Screen 15.4 (1974-75) and Trevor Whittock, Metaphor and Film (Cambridge:1990) 102.

54. Graham. op.cit. 368 re Vygotski's 1934 'Thought and Language'; also David Joravsky, Russian Psychology: A Critical History (Oxford: 1989)

55. SME III 289

56. FT 68

57. V.I.Lenin, On the Question of Dialectics (1915) (Moscow: 1980) 10

58. FA 93

59. Lewis Jacobs in FT iv; Steiner and Hurwitz, qu. Vlada Petric, 'Soviet Revolutionary Films in America'. Ph.D. thesis, New York U, 1973, 459

60. FT 45

61. SME I 194

62. ibid. 125

63. ibid. 65 & 201; Babitsky and Rimberg note the differences in distribution between town and country

64. Sheila Fitzpatrick, op.cit. 20

65. Pudovkin, Alexandrov, Piryev, Soviet Films: Principal Stages of Development (Bombay: 1951) 6.

66. Graham, op.cit. 62.

67. qu. Richard Stites,

68. see Karl Popper, The Logic of Scientific Discovery (London: 1972) 40, presenting an argument against induction: "...inference to theories from singular statements which are 'verified by experience'....is logically inadmissable. . . Theories are therefore never empirically verifiable...I shall certainly admit a system as empirical or scientific only if it is capable of being tested by experience. These considerations suggest that hot the verifiablity but the falsifiability of a system is to be taken as a criterion of demarcation... it must be possible for an empirical scientific system to be refuted".

69. see for instance Edward Braun, Meyerhold on Theatre (London: 1969) 50; " N= $A^1+A^2$ (where N= the actor; $A^1$= the artist who conceives the ideas and issues the instructions necessary for its execution; $A^2$= the executant who executes the conception of A'; see also Punin's 'First Cycle of Lectures ', John E.Bowlt, ed. Russian Art of the Avant-Garde (London:1988) 171: S(Pi+Pii+Piii+...P@)Y=T (where S= sum of principles (P), Y= intuition, T= artistic creation

70. qu. Aumont, op.cit. 64 and SME I 187.

71. Aumont, op.cit. 25.

## Conclusion

This project began with the narrow objective of examining a body of work seemingly long neglected. It sought to do so by attempting to discover its points of contact with a concurrent area of scientific theory. The connection made between Pudovkin and Pavlov has been seen to be useful in various ways: in the particular case of a film made by Pudovkin to popularise Pavlov's research and Pudovkin's understanding of the specific means suitable to the task; in regarding Pavlov as exemplary of correct scientific theorising; given the routine appropriation of Pavlov in early Soviet artistic and intellectual activity, in employing Pavlov as a means of navigating a route through the context of Pudovkin's work. I have attempted to locate the work in the context of its production and in its reception at home and abroad, and to examine whatever claims it may have on modernity. I offer the awkward position in which Pudovkin has been placed, between the popular and the avant-garde, as one explanation for his historic neglect.

As the work of Pudovkin was here understood to comprise both his film practice and his writing about film, there was the opportunity to investigate whatever scientistic aspirations the writing evinced and also to examine a particular relationship between practice and theory as an opening to an understanding of what expectations and demands one area of work might fairly make of the other. I have concluded that Pudovkin's writing may well fall short of the most exacting and correct criteria of scientific theorising: adopting Sorrell's outline, for instance, Pudovkin's writing is neither unified nor concordant within itself; nor can it be

taken to be objective (there have not been consistent or rigorous attempts and failures to falsify its propositions); nor does Pudovkin seek to predict or control practice by means of his writing, much as one may discover there occasional possible explanations and suggestions as to means of efficient and efficacious procedure.[1] This is to say, that Pudovkin's theorising does not espouse the manner of "arriving at warranted conclusions employed in physics, chemistry and biology". It may even fall short of less formal scientific standards, "a broader and looser conception of science (in which Marx and Engels can be situated) which refers to systematic scholarship offering a coherent interpretation of a set of phenomena".[2] However, the aspiration towards scientific theorising, by whatever definition, seems to me to be present in Pudovkin's very encouragement of practical experiments and tests (even when, as in the instance of A Simple Case, these turn out badly) and in his theoretical commitment towards progress in practice. Pudovkin's concerns with film theory are firmly utilitarian, to minimise practical difficulty yet to foster improvisation in the face of particular circumstances (which may in turn require the amendment of the previous theoretical suppositions) rather than to proscribe and ordain. Pudovkin is as much concerned with theory which serves as a tool in the making of films as he is with the means of critical appraisal. Ian Christie and Kristin Thompson have already opened a discussion of Pudovkin's early experimental work in sound; a future project might seek to explore further the development from his use of the silent slow-motion 'close-up' as a concentration of audience attention, to his later manipulation of the sound track.

David Bordwell and Noël Carroll have forwarded constitutive models by which to characterise and to evaluate film theory. A self-respecting theory should, says Bordwell, comprise an ontology, an epistemology and an aesthetics, thereby emphasising its explanatory and academic capacity.[3] Film and cinema are thus theoretically located prestigiously alongside the older arts. Carroll defines classical film theories, amongst which he counts Pudovkin, by the nature of the questions which they endeavour to address:

> 1. What is the determinant or crucial feature of film;
> 2. What is the value or rôle of cinema;
> 3. What are the processes of articulation in film by which 1. and 2. are effected? [4]

Classical theory is similarly characterised by the logical relations which are assumed to appertain between these aspects, which function simultaneously as critical and analytical criteria by which filmic products can also be judged. Carroll complains that more recent theories have failed to engage adequately with the concerns which characterise their precursors; perhaps one could say rather that such concerns have become more explicitly identified and separately distinguished (between apparatus theory, reception and spectatorship studies) than they were hitherto. It is Pudovkin's declared objective, for practice, that there be as little slippage as possible between directorial intention in its making and the generally received experience of the film, and his consequent tendency, in theory, to conflate these distinctions. Certainly Pudovkin advances his case more by commonsense assumption and in answer to immediate social and political demands made of him and his fellow Soviet film workers, than by rigorous proof of such connections. But he

is equally less attached to a logical theoretical structure per se than is Eisenstein; significantly again, the shifts in Pudovkin's theorising are justified in his own reckoning by his gains in practical experience, rather than in a theoretical recognition of problems as yet unaccounted for. Similarly, Pudovkin seems little concerned with the exercise of producing philosophically integrated and coherent theory for its own sake. Here again his interests are more pragmatic and practical than academic and he is of necessity as much concerned with the content of his material as with its form. Pudovkin did not initiate the subjects of debate which his writings address and often his contributions are not original nor unique; sometimes he contributes simply a codification of current means and ends, observed in a variety of popular and 'art' films, home-produced and imported. Where Pudovkin's films are themselves the subject of commentary (see chapter seven for the appraisals of Arnheim and della Volpe, for instance), it seems to me essential to establish in future what versions of the films were under discussion. My research has discovered several versions of Storm over Asia and of The End of St.Petersburg; the copy of Mother released in France is reported by Winifred Ellerman as half the original length.[5] The translation and publication of Pudovkin's writings requires careful mapping also. The themes which concern Pudovkin (the centrality of the actor; the material, spatial and temporal means specific to cinema; cinema and didacticism) are shared with contemporaneous film commentators in Russia and elsewhere. These also echo wider social and political debates (mechanism/vitalism; naturalism/ idealism/realism; nature/nurture) in which Russian and Soviet

artists and intellectuals engaged with one another and with their European and American contemporaries.

Although there was specific contact in practice between Pudovkin and Pavlov, both in choice of means and of matter, the enquiry into any theoretical affiliation has been necessarily oblique. The first editions of Kino-Stsenarii and Kino-rezhisser i Kino-material were published without notes and there is little direct reference to contemporary theory, scientific or otherwise, in the body of the text. Pudovkin does, however, quote specifically from other writings on film and, more often, from films themselves. But thorough engagement with other material, analysis conducted by means of a theoretical apparatus already in place, is extremely rare and patently held little attraction: the repudiation of Vertov (as discussed in chapter three), the early article responding to Delluc's Photogénie (discussed in chapter six), and the later appreciation of Stanislavski (discussed in chapter five), are perhaps the closest he comes. Certainly, Pudovkin's side of the notorious theoretical tussle between Eisenstein and Pudovkin wants for a clear and ready exposition of Eisenstein's stance as Pudovkin understood it. A future project, requiring a consultation of the R.G.A.L.I. archives, closely examining their teaching programmes and their films, might establish Pudovkin's debt to his first master Vladimir Gardin (see chapter two).

Contrary to David Bordwell's commonplace assumption, I have here contended that Pavlov sought not to reduce all human behaviour to material laws but rather to test the

capacity of reflexes to explain behaviour. Certainly, in the early 1920's and again in the 1950's, Pavlov was readily seized upon as a persuasive instrument in Soviet ideology and orthodoxy. Certainly I am persuaded that there are particular instances where a knowledge of the ramifications of Pavlov's research for Soviet film practice illuminates the work of Pudovkin under discussion, but I am not intent upon making too much of this, and I am not seeking to push any coincident affiliation far, either historically or critically. Following Pavlov's example, I am urging caution with regard to the transferability of theory from one area of endeavour to another. Furthermore, given that Pavlov may be taken as emblematic and paradigmatic of that exact science to which film theory in the 1920's is being urged to aspire, I find it advisable to heed the warnings of his own model, Darwin, and also of other scientists cited here, such as Mach, Haldane and the philosopher of science, Popper: all were well aware of the subjective compromises perforce embedded in theory and, moreover, of its implicit, even ultimately necessary potential limitations. For Popper, the criterion of empirical theory is that it should be falsified by experiment;[6] Haldane, in more avowedly political terms, declares: "the dialectical method in science is to push a theory to its logical conclusion and show that it negates itself".[7]

Pudovkin's writing may fail to fulfill satisfactorily some of the criteria one might reasonably level at a consolidated film theory, but this is not to say that the writing is of no theoretical or utilitarian value. Certainly, in

abstract terms, it fails as theory by the standard set by Pavlov. However, rather than censuring Pudovkin for the objective incoherence of his theory and the inconsistency between his theory and his practice, it seems to me to be worth reccgnising in this diversity and waywardness an admission that his theorising was historically circumspect, that theory proves itself useful to him as a contingent resource, and that the theory and practice were mutually informing rather than immediately correspondent. My contention here has been that Pudovkin's greatest and most enduring contribution has been in the films themselves or, rather, in the experience of watching the films, which continue to stand without the explanation or interpretation afforded by his writing. The discussion of his writing demonstrates the extent of the artfulness with which the accessibility of his films was effected.

1. Tom Sorrell, Scientism (London: 1991) 25.

2. Howard H.Kendler in Koch and Leary, eds. A Century of Psychology as Science (New York: 1985) 128.

3. David Bordwell, 'Eisenstein's Epistemological Shift' Screen 15.4 (1974-75); Ian Jarvie adopts a similar classification in his Philosophy of the Film (New York: 1987)

4. Noël Carroll, Philosophical Problems of Classical Film Theory (Princeton: 1988);12-14; see also Bordwell and Carroll Post Theory: Reconstructing Film Studies (Madison: 1996) and compare Trevor Whittock, Metaphor and Film (Cambridge: 1990) 95.

5. Winifred Ellerman (Bryher), Film Problems of Soviet Russia (Territet: 1929) 60.

6. Karl Popper, The Logic of Scientific Discovery 1934 (London: 1972) 40.

7. J.B.S.Haldane 1939, On Being the Right Size (Oxford: 1985) 135.

9.iii.

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